

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OR
CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
JANUARY, 1899 APRIL, 1899.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUS CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CLXXXIX.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., LONDON.
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY, NEW YORK.

1899.

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION,

For Mutual Life Assurance,

Established 1835.

48 GRACECHURCH STREET, LONDON.

DIRECTORS.

WILLIAM JOHN BARRON, Esq.
JOSEPH FELL CHRISTY, Esq.,
Trustee.
ROBERT MAYNE CURTIS, Esq.,
Trustee.

ROBERT E. DICKINSON, Esq.
CHARLES W. C. HUTTON, Esq.
ROBERT LEAKE, Esq.
SAMUEL S. LLOYD, Esq.
ALFRED E. PHASE, Esq., M.P.

GEORGE SEWELL READ, Esq.
JOHN SCOTT, Esq., *Trustee.*
SIR PETER SPOKES.
GEORGE CHURCH WHITELLY, Esq.
WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS, Esq., *Trustee.*

Medical Officers T. HENRY GREEN, Esq., M.D., and JOHN CROFT, Esq., F.R.C.S.

Solicitor -- THOMAS MYDDLETON MORRIS, Esq.

Auditors W. C. JACKSON, Esq., F.C.A. ; G. BOLLARD NEWTON, Esq.; WILLIAM CASH, Esq., F.C.A.

Assistant Actuaries -- L. F. HOVIL.

Acting Manager -- C. I. CROFT.

Invested Funds exceed £5,200,000. : Claims Paid £10,000,000.
Profits divided £5,400,000. : Gross Annual Income £620,000.

The whole of the Profits are Divided every Five Years among the Members, without any deduction for dividends to shareholders. At the last (1897) Division of Profits £714,390 Cash Profit was apportioned amongst the Members, being nearly 37 per cent. of the amount paid in premiums during the previous Five Years.

There were then nearly 1,000 Policies in respect of which not only were the premiums entirely extinguished, but Cash Bonuses were also paid, whilst in the case of many Policies, the Original Sum assured was now more than doubled by the Bonus Additions.

Endowment Assurance Policies are issued combining Life Assurance at Minimum Cost with Provision for Old Age.

The practical effect of these Policies in the National Provident Institution is that the Member's life is assured until he reaches the age agreed upon, and on his reaching that age the whole of the Premiums paid are returned to him, and a considerable sum in addition, representing a by no means insignificant rate of interest on his payments.

January 1899

ARTHUR SMITH, *Actuary and Secretary.*

APPLICATIONS FOR AGENCIES INVITED.

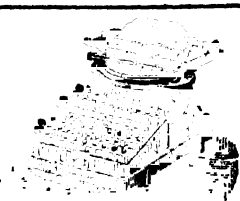
The YOST TYPE- WRITER.

We do not say that there are no other good machines, but we do strongly affirm, and are willing to prove it by sending a machine on inspection and .

**FREE
TRIAL
FOR
SEVEN
DAYS,**

that we sell the very best typewriter the world has ever seen.

Catalogues --
-- post free.



USED BY

The EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA,
The EMPEROR OF GERMANY,
The KING OF WURTEMBERG,
The DUKE AND DUCHESS OF YORK,
The ENGLISH, COLONIAL, and
CONTINENTAL GOVERNMENTS
The LEADING RAILWAY CO.'s.

and

More than 35,000 other users.

THE YOST TYPEWRITER CO., LTD.,

50, Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.

The Edinburgh Review Advertiser,

**A SELECTION FROM
Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s
SPRING ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

NEW VOLUME OF THE GLOBE LIBRARY.

POETICAL WORKS OF ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. Crown 8vo 3s 6d.

* Also in Extra Cloth gilt 41s (Crown 8vo) 4s 6d

NEW VOLUMES OF THE GOLDEN TREASURY SERIES.

LYRICAL POEMS. By ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. Selected and Annotated by FRANCIS T. PAUGHAVE. With Vignette. Pott 8vo 2s 6d net

IN MEMORIAM. By ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. Pott 8vo 2s 6d net

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By the Hon J W FORBESCU. With Maps. In 2 vols. 8vo

FRANCE. By J E C BODLEY. Popular Edition. In 1 vol Extra Crown 8vo 10s net

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF DONEGAL AND ANTRIM. By STEPHEN GWYNN. With Illustrations by ALGERNON THOMSON. Extra Crown 8vo 6s *Ridg*

THE SOLITARY SUMMER. By the Author of 'The Abeth and her Garden.' Extra Crown 8vo 6s

THE SCIENTIFIC MEMOIRS OF THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY. Edited by Professor MICHAEL FOSTER, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., and Professor L. RAY LANKASTON, M.A., F.R.S. In 4 vols. Vol. 2. Superroyal 8vo

* This work will be sold in 5s 6d only

DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Edited by R H FORTES PAUGHAVE. Volume III (completing the Dictionary) Medium 8vo

THE NATIONAL INCOME AND ITS DISTRIBUTION. By WILLIAM SMITH, M.A., D.Phil., F.R.S. The Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. Crown 8vo

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By W. BRADY OGDEN, M.A., LL.D., Q.C., Recorder of Winchester. Crown 8vo
[*English Classics Series*]

PHILOSOPHICAL THEORY OF THE STATE. By BERNARD BOSANQUET. 8vo

MACMILLAN & CO., LONDON, London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION IN ONE VOLUME.

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON.

A MEMOIR. By his SON.

With Portrait and Illustrations. In 1 vol. extra crown 8vo. 10s. net

NEW BOOK BY MISS MARY KINGSLEY.

WEST AFRICAN STUDIES.

By MARY H. KINGSLEY.

With Illustrations and Maps. 8vo 21s net

Times—Miss Kingsley has written a really amusing book, but she has, at the same time, written one of the most illuminating and instructive books on the problems of tropical Africa ever given to the public. . . A fascinating and instructive volume.

A SAILOR'S LIFE UNDER FOUR SOVEREIGNS.

By ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET,

The Hon. Sir HENRY KEPPEL, G.C.B., D.C.L.

With numerous Illustrations by the late SIR OSWALD BRIERLY, Marine Painter to Her Majesty.

In This Volume Extra crown 8vo. 30s. net.

World—By the richness and variety, the candour and high spirits, form a welcome and interesting addition to naval literature.

THE PHILIPPINES AND ROUND ABOUT, WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF BRITISH INTERESTS IN THESE WATERS. By Major G. J. YOUNG, R.E., Queen's Own Corps of Guides, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. With Illustrations and Map. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

1899 ISSUE NOW READY.

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK. Statistical and

Historical Account of the States of the World, for the Year 1899. Edited by J. SCOTT KELLIE, LL.D., Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. Thirty-sixth Annual Publication. Revised after Official Returns. Crown 8vo 10s. 6d.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION.

RUBÁIYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM: the Astronomer-Poet of Persia.

Rendered into English verse by EDWARD FITZGERALD. Poet [Golden Treasury Series]

8vo 2s. 6d. net.

VOLUMES I. III. NOW READY.

THE EVERSLEY SHAKESPEARE. Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by Prof. C. H. HERFORD, Litt D.

In Ten Monthly Vols. (Globe 8vo 5s. each vol.)

Vol. I.—LOVE'S LABOURS LOST—COMEDY OF ERRORS TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

Vol. II.—TAMING OF THE SHREW—MERCHANT OF VENICE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR—TWELFTH NIGHT—AS YOU LIKE IT.

Vol. III.—MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING—ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL MEASURE FOR MEASURE—TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

Guardian—In many respects the best that has been produced for the general reader.

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED, London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

Latest Popular Novels.

Crown 8vo. 6s. each.

THE GAME AND THE CANDLE. By RHODA BROUGHTON.

THE TREASURY-OFFICER'S WOOING. By CECIL LOWIS.

'Mr. Lowis's story is pleasant to read in more senses than one. It is not only clever and whole-
some, but printed in a type so large and clear as to reconcile us to the thickness of the volume.'
SATURDAY REVIEW.

ONE OF THE GRENVILLES. By S. R. LYSAGHT, Author
of 'The Marplot.'

'Since he wrote "The Marplot" Mr. Lysaght has degenerated neither in freshness, originality,
nor sense of humor. . . . It is a considerable tribute to Mr. Lysaght's book to say that it is bound
to be discussed by anyone who reads it, and whatever the verdict of the reader may be he cannot
fail to be interested and attracted.'—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

OFF THE HIGH ROAD: the Story of a Summer. By
ELEANOR C. PHIBBS Author of 'Young Derys,' 'In the Lion's Mouth,' &c.

'A pleasant tale.'—ATHENÆUM.

SECOND IMPRESSION

ASHES OF EMPIRE. By ROBERT W. CHAMBERS, Author
of 'The King in Yellow,' &c.

'Well worth reading. . . . Will sustain his reputation.'—LITERATURE.

New Volume of the Cambridge Natural History.

Vol. IX.

BIRDS. By A. H. EVANS, M.A. With numerous Illustrations by
G. E. LODGE. 8vo. 17s. net.

'The expert and the novice alike must be at once delighted by the accuracy and the beauty of
the illustrations. . . . It is astonishing to note the mass of information the author has been able to
bring together. . . . With a little practice any observant person would soon learn by the help of
this volume to track down any bird very nearly to its ultimate place in classification.'
SATURDAY REVIEW.

**IN THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH AND ON THE
COAST OF THE CORAL SEA:** being the Experiences and Observations of
a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea, and the Moluccas. By RICHARD
SEMON. With eighty-six Illustrations and four Maps. Super royal 8vo.
21s. net.

'The author has added a valuable and interesting volume to our library of natural history and
travel.'—WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

BY THE LATE R. H. HUTTON.

**ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS AND SCIENTIFIC
THOUGHT.** By the late RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. Selected from the
Spectator, and edited by his niece, ELIZABETH M. ROSCOE, with portrait.
Globe 8vo. 6s. [Ebersley Series]

'Readers of many kinds, and of many varieties of theological and philosophical opinion, will
welcome this volume of selections. . . . Certainly among the most characteristic writings of their
author.'—LITERATURE.

THE HULSEAN LECTURES FOR 1898-9.

THE GOSPEL OF THE ATONEMENT. By the Ven.
JAMES M. WILSON, M.A., Vicar of Rochdale, Archdeacon of Manchester, and
late Head-Master of Clifton College. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

'A notable pronouncement.'—SPECTATOR.

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED, London.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s NEW BOOKS.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SARACENS: Being a concise account of the Rise and Decline of the Saracenic Power, and of the Economic, Social, and Intellectual Development of the Arab Nation from the earliest times to the Destruction of Bagdad and the Expulsion of the Moors from Spain. With numerous Maps, Illustrations, and Genealogical Tables. By AMIR ALI SYED, M.A., C.F.E. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—‘A useful and interesting little book.’

NEW AND REVISED EDITION.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH DRAMATIC LITERATURE TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE. By A. W. WARD, Litt D., Hon. LL D., &c. In 3 vols 8vo. 76s. net.

LITERATURE.—‘A standard book.’

FRANCIS PARKMAN'S WORKS. New Library Edition.

Vols. I.-V. Now ready. Extra crown 8vo. gilt top, 8s. 6d. net each.

PIONEERS OF FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD.

THE JESUITS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE XVII. CENTURY.

LA SALLE AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST.

THE OLD REGIME IN CANADA.

COUNT FRONTENAC AND NEW FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV.

FOURTH THOUSAND.

ELIZABETH AND HER GERMAN GARDEN. Extra

Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—‘A very bright little book.’

SPECTATOR.—‘Entirely delightful.’

ACADEMY.—‘A charming book.’

BY THE AUTHOR OF ‘A VISIT TO JAVA.’

THE VALLEY OF LIGHT: Studies with Pen and Pencil in the Various Valleys of Piedmont. By W. DAVIE WORSFOLD, Author of ‘The Principles of Criticism.’ With Map. 8vo. 10s. net.

NATURAL HISTORY REVIEW.—‘A most charming book of mingled travel and history.’

VOLUME VI NOW READY

A NEW SYSTEM OF MEDICINE. By Many Writers. Edited by THOMAS CLIFFORD ALLISTON, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Vol. VI. Diseases of the Circulatory System (continued), Diseases of Muscles, Diseases of Nervous System. 8vo. half bound 25s. net.

GENERAL PHYSIOLOGY: An Outline of the Science of

Life. By MAX NEWBORN, M.D., Ph.D., A.C., Professor of Physiology in the Medical Faculty of the University of Jena. Translated from the Second German Edition, and Edited by FREDERIC S. LEE, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Physiology in Columbia University. With 285 Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 15s. net.

LANCET.—‘This work is one of those that will bear reading twice, and reading carefully. . . . The subject is treated in an original and very interesting manner. We may add that the translation reflects great credit upon Dr. Lee, being smooth and intelligible throughout. . . . From it our readers will be sure to derive both pleasure and instruction.’

VACCINATION: Its natural History and Pathology. Being the

Milroy Lectures for 1898, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians of London, by S. MONROE COPELAND, M.A., M.D., Cantab., M.R.C.P. Lond., Medical Inspector to H.M. Local Government Board. With 12 full-page Plates. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

LANCET.—‘Dr. Copeeland's contribution to the study of the bacteriology of vaccination is of high value and interest.’

THE RIGHT TO THE WHOLE PRODUCE OF

LABOUR. The Origin and Development of the Theory of Labour's Claim to the whole Product of Industry. By DR. ANTON MESSER, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Vienna. Translated by M. E. TANNER. With an Introduction and Bibliography by Professor H. S. FOXWELL, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

GLASGOW HERALD.—‘A book which deserves and is sure to have a future in English economical literature.’

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED, London.

MR. MURRAY'S NEW & RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE

BOIRROW, 1803-1881. Based on Official and other Authentic Documents. By Professor I. KNAPP, Ph.D., LL.D. With Portrait and Illustrations. 2 vols. demy 8vo 32s.

'Professor Knapp has presented us in these two volumes with a life-picture of his hero such as only literary portraiture can supply.'—*LITERATURE*.

'We are all so tired, so blasé nowadays, that to dip into Borrow's pages is to get off the beaten track at once, to become human beings who can feel with Jasper Petulengro, "There's the wind on the heath, brother," and who can live and breathe and forget for a moment the enslaving routine and monotony of modern life.'—*WEEKLY SUN*.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SERMONS BY BEN-

JAMIN JOWETT, late Master of Balliol. Edited by the Hon. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.A., Dean of Ripon. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. each.

Doctrinal Sermons. [In preparation.] College Sermons (3rd Edition). [Published.]

SIR ROBERT PEEL, from 1827 to his Death in 1850. From

his Private Papers. Edited by CHARLES STUART PARKER, formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford, and M.P. for the City and County of Perth. With a Chapter on his life and Character by his Grandson, the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. With Portraits, &c. 2 vols. demy 8vo. 32s.

'Mr. Parker has done his work with admirable fidelity and judgment.'—*TIME*.

'Besides these rich treasures, the scholarly and conscientious author has had the run of the Apsey House archives, and of the collections kept by Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Hardinge, and Mr. Goulburn's grandson, Major Goulburn, while the Dean of Salisbury, Viscount Peel, and Sir Frederick Peel have lent valuable assistance.' *DAILY TELEGRAPH*.

'They replace the gossip of Croker and Greville with authentic data, and tell in themselves a tale more eloquent than that of all previous writers of the time.'—*DAILY CHRONICLE*.

THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM ROBERT MENDS,

G.C.B., late Director of Transports. Based on his Journal and Correspondence. By his son, ROBERT S. MENDS, late Surgeon, R.N. With Portrait and Illustrations, demy 8vo. 16s.

HAUNTS AND HOBBIES OF AN INDIAN OFFICIAL. By MARK

THORNHILL, Author of 'Adventures of a Magistrate in the Indian Mutiny.' Large crown 8vo. 6s. 'Worthy of being classed with White of Selborne. Hardly a page or a paragraph can be spared.'—*SCOTSMAN*.

FUNAFUTI: or, Three Months on a Remote Coral Island. An Un-

scientific Account of a Scientific Expedition in the South Seas. By Mrs. EDG. WORTH DAVID With a Postscript on the Outworn Work of the Expedition. By Professor BONNEY, D.Sc., F.R.S. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12s.

'Here is a book for anyone who has still enough youth and innocence left to long, above all things, for a life on a savage island, where the savages are nice and tame and endlessly amusing. We have seldom read a more delightful story of travel, or been introduced to a more charming set of people. Mrs. David is the keen, humorous, and courageous lady that England produces at her best. She is full of resource, and confronts the most deplorable situations with a smile.'—*DAILY CHRONICLE*.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ARMENIA.

THROUGH THE STORM. Pictures of Life in Armenia. By ANATIS

NAZARBEN (Editor of the *Huntchak*). Translated by Mrs. L. M. ELLIS. With a Preface by F. YORK POWELL, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Crown 8vo. 6s.

'The situation, as regards Armenia, is plainly set forth, and its tacit claims on the sympathy of Christian Europe submitted, not in a special plea, but as a historical postulate, that in the future of time will rivet the attention of the civilised world.'—*SCOTSMAN*.

THE COST OF SPORT. Edited by F. G. AFLALO, Joint Editor of

the 'Encyclopædia of Sport.' Crown 8vo. 6s.

Including, amongst others, the following subjects:—Shooting. By G. T. TRADDALE-BUCKELL (Editor of 'Land and Water').—Coursing. By J. W. BURNER.—Cricket. By W. J. FORD.—Cycling. By H. GRAHAM.—Foreset. By N. EVERITT.—Golf. By GARDEN G. SMITH.—Hawking. By the Hon. GERALD LANCELLER.—Horses and Hunting. By the EARL OF COVENTRY, Major GERALD LANCELLER, E. T. SACHS, WALTER WINANS, &c.—Lawn Tennis. Mountaineering. Polo.—Racing. By E. T. SACHS.—Rowing (also Punting, Houseboats, &c.). By R. POPHAM LOHR and others.—Shooting (Big Game, &c.). By H. A. BLYDEN, Capt. GERALD FERRARI, J. D. INVERARITY, and G. T. TRADDALE-BUCKELL.—Trotting. By WALTER WINANS.—Yachting and sailing (Canoes, Wharries, &c.). By WASHINGTON BADEN-POWELL, C. B. COLMAN, C.E., A. L. RUMFOLD, &c.

NOTES FROM AN INDIAN DIARY, 1881-1886. By the Right

Hon. Sir MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I. 2 vols. crown 8vo 18s.

'None excels Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff in experience, in knowledge of affairs and of society, in wide reading and love of letters, and in literary skill. . . He records the good things that have come within his ken with an enjoyment that sharpens the points of them.'—*STANDARD*.

'The reader will find in every chapter enough of the current wit and wisdom of Europe to make him anxious for further volumes.'—*PALL MALL GAZETTE*.

* * * The above is the Third Series, the Two First Series (each Two vols., 18s.) are both still in print.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, W.

SELECTED FROM

Mr. Murray's Theological List.

NEW WORKS BY THE REV. CHARLES GORE, D.D.

Just Published. Fifth Thousand.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.
Chaps. I.-VIII. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. Edin., Canon of Westminster,
Honorary Chaplain to H.M. the Queen. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE.
Eighth Thousand.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.
By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. Edin. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Twelfth Thousand.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. Edin. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LUX MUNDI: a Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. By Various Writers. Edited by Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. Edin. Crown 8vo. 6s.

AUTHORITY AND ARCHÆOLOGY, SACRED AND PROFANE.
By the Rev. S. R. DRIVER; ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A.; F. L. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.; F. HAVRILFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.; the Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, B.D.; and D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., Director of the British School at Athens. With an Introductory Chapter on the General Value of Archæological Evidence, its Capabilities and Limitations, by the Editor, DAVID G. HOGARTH. Demy 8vo. 16s.

HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
A Memoir. By the Rev. HENRY L. THOMPSON, Vicar of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford: formerly Student and Canon of Christ Church. With Portrait and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 16s.

THE PLACE OF MIRACLES IN RELIGION. The Hulsean Lectures for 1891. By the Right Rev. the Bishop of Southampton (the Hon. A. T. LYTTLETON). Crown 8vo. 6s.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. THE CANON. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A MEMOIR OF EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., late Dean of Norwich. By the Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 5s.

LITERATURE. 'A character of great beauty, which reveals itself not only in Mr. Berdmore Compton's pages, but in the delightful portrait prefixed to them.'

THE LORD'S PRAYER. By the late EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., sometime Dean of Norwich, author of 'Thoughts on Personal Religion,' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LITERARY WORLD.—'The work is so full, so rich in thought and learning, so unhurried, so calm and earnest at the same time. One revels in such a volume. It is entirely representative of the culture and piety of a typical Anglican divine. We have known nothing better on that most wonderful and beautiful prayer.'

THE PRAYER-BOOK AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE; or, Conception of the Christian Life implied in the Book of Common Prayer. By CHARLES T. TILLY, D.D., Archbishop of New York. With an introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

BENEDICTE: The Song of the Three Children. Illustrations of the Power, Beneficence, and Design Manifested by the Creator in His Works. By G. C. CHILDS CHARLIS, M.D. A New and Cheaper Impression. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

MINISTERIAL PRIESTHOOD. Six Chapters Preliminary to a Study of the Ordinal. With an inquiry into the Truth of Christian Priesthood and an Appendix on the Recent Roman Controversy. By R. C. MONKLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christ Church. Second Impression. 8vo. 14s.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'As one of the authors of "Lux Mundi," Canon Moberly's exposition is distinguished by the high qualities which have made the school to which the writer belongs so influential in the Church of England.'

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, W.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF CHARLES DARWIN.

LIFE AND LETTERS of CHARLES DARWIN.

With an Autobiographical Chapter. Edited by FRANCIS DARWIN, F.R.S.
Seventh Thousand. With 3 Portraits and Illustrations. 3 vols 8vo. 36s.

CHARLES DARWIN: an Autobiography. With Selections from his Letters by FRANCIS DARWIN. Portrait. 7s. 6d.

JOURNAL OF A NATURALIST DURING A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD IN H.M.S. 'BEAGLE.' With Portrait. Popular Edition, 3s. 6d. Also with 100 Illustrations, medium 8vo. 21s

ORIGIN OF SPECIES BY MEANS OF NATU- RAL SELECTION. Library Edition, 2 vols. 12s. Popular Edition, 6s.

DESCENT OF MAN, AND SELECTION IN RELATION TO SEX. Woodcuts. Library Edition, 2 vols. 15s. Popular Edition, 7s. 6d.

VARIATION OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS UNDER DOMESTICATION. Woodcuts. 2 vols. 15s.

EXPRESSIONS OF THE EMOTIONS IN MAN AND ANIMALS. With Illustrations 12s.

VARIOUS CONTRIVANCES BY WHICH OR- CHIDS ARE FERTILIZED BY INSECTS. Woodcuts. 7s. 6d.

MOVEMENTS AND HABITS OF CLIMBING PLANTS. Woodcuts. 6s.

INSECTIVOROUS PLANTS. Woodcuts. 9s.

CROSS AND SELF-FERTILIZATION IN THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM. 9s.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF FLOWERS ON PLANTS OF THE SAME SPECIES. 7s. 6d.

POWER OF MOVEMENT IN PLANTS. Woodcuts.

FORMATION OF VEGETABLE MOULD THROUGH THE ACTION OF WORMS. Illustrations. Post 8vo. 6s.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, W.

SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S

NEW VOLUME OF 'THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.'

Just Published. Royal 8vo. 16s. net, in cloth; or in half-morocco, marbled edges, 20s. net.

VOL. LVIII. (UBALDINI—WAKEFIELD) OF

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

Edited by SIDNEY LEE.

* Volume I. was published on January 1, 1885, and a further Volume will be issued quarterly until the completion of the work, which will be effected within two years from the present time.
Prospectus, with Specimen Pages, post free on application.

NEW EDITION OF LORD ARMSTRONG'S 'ELECTRIC MOVEMENT IN AIR AND WATER.'

Now Ready. A NEW EDITION. With Additional Plates. Imperial 4to. 30s. net.

ELECTRIC MOVEMENT IN AIR AND WATER.

By LORD ARMSTRONG, C.B., F.R.S., &c. With a SUPPLEMENT, containing a continuation of his Experiments, together with an extension of them made in concert with HENRY STROUT, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Physics, Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

* The Purchasers of the First Edition will, on application to Smith, Elder, & Co., receive gratis copies of the Supplement.

NEW EDITION OF SIR WM. MUIR'S 'CALIPHATE.'

With Maps. THIRD EDITION. Demy 8vo. 16s.

THE CALIPHATE: ITS RISE, DECLINE, AND FALL.

By SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., &c. Author of 'The Life of Mahomet,' 'The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty,' &c.

COMPLETION OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL EDITION OF W. M. THACKERAY'S WORKS.

Now Ready. Large crown 8vo. cloth, gilt top, 6s.

Vol. 13.—BALLADS AND MISCELLANIES.

With 35 Full-page Illustrations by the Author, GEORGE CRICKSHANK and JOHN LEECH, 35 Woodcuts, 3 Portraits of Thackeray's Ancestors, an Engraving of the Author from a Drawing by SAMUEL LAURENCK, and a Photogravure from a Drawing by CHENEY of Thackeray at the Age of Three, with his Father and Mother. The Volume also contains a Life of Thackeray by LESLIE STEPHENS, and a Bibliography.

This New and Revised Edition comprises additional material and hitherto unpublished Letters, Sketches and Drawings, derived from the Author's original MSS. and Note-books; and each Volume includes a Memoir in the form of an Introduction by Mrs. Richmond Ritchie.

TITLES OF THE VOLUMES.

1. VANITY FAIR. 2. PENDENNIS. 3. YELLOWPLUSH PAPERS, &c. 4. THE MEMOIRS OF HARRY LYNDON; THE FITZBOODLE PAPERS, &c. 5. SKETCH BOOKS. 6. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNCH, &c. 7. THE HISTORY OF HENRY ESMOND; and THE LECTURES. 8. THE NEWCOMES. 9. CHRISTMAS BOOKS, &c. 10. THE VIRGINIANS. 11. THE ADVENTURES OF PHILIP; and A SHABBY GENTLE STORY. 12. LOVE! THE WIDOWER. 13. ROUNDABOUT PAPERS, DENIS DUVAL, &c. 13. BALLADS AND MISCELLANIES.

BOOKMAN.—'In her new biographical edition Mrs. Richmond Ritchie gives us precisely what we want. The volumes are a pleasure to hold and to handle. They are just what we like our ordinary every-day Thackeray to be. And prefixed to each of them we have all that we wish to know, or have any right to know, about the author himself; all the circumstances, letters and drawings which bear upon the work.'

* * A Prospectus of the Edition, with Specimen Pages, will be sent post free on application.

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, S.W.

NEW AND RECENT BOOKS.

Just Published. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE ETCHINGHAM LETTERS.

By Mrs. FULLER MAITLAND,

Author of 'Pages from the Day-Book of Betha Hardacre' &c.;

AND

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, BART.

The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth

HARRITT HARRITT. Second Impression. With 2 Portraits and 2 Facsimile Letters. 2 vols. crown 8vo 21s.

SPECTATOR.—We venture to think that no such remarkable and unbroken series of intimate letters between two remarkable people has ever been given to the world. . . . There is something extraordinarily touching in the gradual unfolding of the romance in which two poets play the parts of hero and heroine.

The Musician's Pilgrimage: a Study in Artistic

Development. By J. A. FULLER MAITLAND. Small crown 8vo. 5s.

TIMES.—Mr. Fuller Maitland's little book should command a wide circle of readers both within and without the profession. . . . It is one that not only professional and practising amateurs, but all who understand anything of music, will be the better for reading.

The War in Cuba: the Experiences of an Englishman

with the United States Army. By JOHN BLACK ATKINS, M.A. With 4 Maps and a Front-piece. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TIMES.—The book not only gives vivid pictures of the mismanaged campaign in Cuba, but includes many interesting observations on the curiously mixed force with which the United States undertook their fatal over-sea operation.

Shakespeare's Handwriting. Facsimiles of the five

authentic Autograph Signatures of the Poet. Extracted from SIDNEY LEE's 'Life of William Shakespeare.' With an Explanatory Note. Crown 8vo. 6d.

A Life of William Shakespeare. By SIDNEY LEE,

Editor of 'The Dictionary of National Biography.' Fourth Edition. With 2 Portraits of Shakespeare, a Portrait of the Earl of Southampton, and Facsimiles of Shakespeare's known Signatures. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LITERATURE.—Mr. Lee's work, both for its literary qualities and its scholarship, does credit to English letters, and it will probably be regarded for years to come as the most useful, the most judicious, and the most authoritative of all existing biographies of the poet.

Rhodesia and its Government. By H. C. THOMSON,

Author of 'The Central Campaign' and of 'The Outgoing Turk.' With 8 Illustrations and a Map. Large crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

SPECTATOR.—We do not hesitate to say that, however fully a man may think him self informed on South African affairs, he will do well to study Mr. Thomson's book.

NEW SIX-SHILLING NOVELS.

Just Published. With 8 Full-page Illustrations.

THE BLACK DOUGLAS.

By S. R. CROCKETT,

Author of 'Gleg Kelly,' 'The Lost Axe,' &c.

A MODERN MEROENARY. By K. and HESKETH PRICHARD

(K. and H. HENON), Authors of 'Tammy's Duel' &c.

SPECTATOR.—The plot is fresh, the intrigue ingenious, the portraiture vivid, and the treatment unhackneyed. . . . Altogether this is a fierce and vivid romance.

GOD'S GREETING. By JOHN GARRETT LEIGH.

MA MÈRE. By the Vicomte JEAN DE LA Z. Crown 8vo. 6s

(Shortly).

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, S.W.

Dedicated by Royal Permission to the Queen.

A HISTORY of BRITISH INDIA

By SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I.

M.A. (Oxford), LL.D. (Cambridge), a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In Five Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo. 18s.

TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE ENGLISH IN THE SPICE ARCHIPELAGO, 1623.

Vol. II. will be published during the latter half of 1900.

*** Each volume covers a great historical period, and is complete in itself.*

BOOKMAN.—‘There are passages in this book which rise to the highest level of historical narrative and ethical criticism.’

OVERLAND MAIL.—‘The author here gives us, on a magnificent scale, the first instalment of a work which, when completed, promises to be a monument of arduous research and rare literary skill.’

PALL MALL GAZETTE. ‘Its lessons are told with a clearness of vision which has been given to no other historian of British India. We see the spirit of the times reflected in each phase of the secular struggle for the trade of India.’

STANDARD.—‘The task undertaken by Sir W. Hunter is, it will be seen, an arduous one, entailing the most laborious researches, and requiring in the historian capacities and talents which have never, perhaps, been combined in a single writer since Gibbon.’

ACADEMY. ‘We have good hopes that at last our national reproach is to be taken away in this matter; that at last we are to have a History of British India, to which we can point as sound and adequate work, which will respect the demands made upon the historian by the modern ideals of history.’

INDIA.—‘Apart from the masterly disposition of the main outline of events, the striking characteristic of the present volume appears to us to be this: it places the reader at once in the right attitude, and firmly keeps him there throughout. . . . A noble example of fidelity to truth . . . written with masterly literary skill, as well as with historical insight.’

TIMES.—‘No one in our time or in the past has done so much as Sir William Hunter for the history of India. . . . Every page of the volume speaks of diligent research. Everywhere presides a sober calm judgment. . . . We should add that the narrative has its lessons, weighty and opportune; and the author strongly presses one or two of them on the statesmen of his time.’

DAILY NEWS.—‘This great process of evolution is sketched in this volume with the clearness, force, comprehensiveness, and illustrative resource that are to be expected from Sir William Hunter. With the historic sense which is as rare as the poetic sense—our author is gifted in an exceptional degree. . . . His History, if it fulfil the promise of its beginning, will prove to be the British Indian history which has never yet been written, and which we have been waiting for.’

SPECTATOR.—‘No man in these islands was nearly so well fitted for the task. He has had large and varied experience as an Administrator. . . . We may assert without fear of contradiction that he knows more of these facts than anyone who has ever lived. . . . If the author of this history were a new writer, we should have doubted the wisdom of publishing this initiatory volume by itself. But those who are acquainted with his great powers will see at a glance that it consists of substructions well contrived—substantial, inevitable substructions.’

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

Messrs. W. BLACKWOOD & SONS'

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MRS. OLIPHANT'S LIFE.
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS OF MRS. M. O. W. OLIPHANT. Arranged and Edited by Mrs. HARRY COGHILL. With 2 Portraits. 1 vol. demy 8vo. 21s.

BEATRICE HARRADEN'S NEW NOVEL.
THE FOWLER. 'Our soul has escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler.' By BEATRICE HARRADEN, Author of 'Ships that Pass in the Night,' 'In Varying Moods,' 'Hilda Strufford,' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JOSEPH PRESTWICH. Written and Edited by his WIFE. With numerous Portraits. In 1 vol. demy 8vo. [*In the press.*]

Immediately will be published
MATTHEW ARNOLD. By Professor SAINTSBURY. Being the First Volume of 'Modern English Writers' Series. Crown 8vo.

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THE ROMAN OCCUPATION. By ANDREW LANG. Volume I. Demy 8vo.

'POSTLE FARM. By GEORGE FORD, Author of 'The Larranys.' Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHILD. Crown 8vo. 6s.

HOLLAND AND THE HOLLANDERS. By D. S. MELDRUM, Author of 'The Story of Margrédél,' 'Grey Mantle and Gold Fringe,' &c. With numerous Illustrations. Square 8vo. 6s.

THE LUNATIC AT LARGE: a Novel. By J. STORER CLOUSTON. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. Being the Edinburgh Gifford Lectures for 1896 &c. By C. P. TIERCE, Theol.D., Litt.D. (Bonon), Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the Science of Religion in the University of Leyden. 2 vols. post 8vo. each 7s. 6d. net.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE BIBLE. Being the Gifford Lectures for 1898. By the Rev. THOMAS NICHOL, D.D. In 1 vol. demy 8vo. [*In Man.*]

SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. By GEORGE ELIOT. A New Edition. With 20 Illustrations by H. R. MILLAR. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THEISM. Being the Edinburgh Gifford Lectures for 1894-96. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, D.C.L., (Oxford); Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. New Edition, in 1 vol. Revised. Post 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

A PRIMER OF TACTICS, FORTIFICATION, TOPOGRAPHY, AND MILITARY LAW. By Capt. C. P. LYNDEN BELL. With Diagrams. Small cr. 8vo. 3s. net.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh; Author of 'Theism,' 'Anti-Theistic Theories,' 'Historical Philosophy in France and French Belgium and Switzerland,' &c. In 1 vol. Demy 8vo. [*In the press.*]

ON SOME OF SHAKESPEARE'S FEMALE CHARACTERS. By HELENA FAUCETT (Lady Martin). Dedicated by permission to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. Sixth Edition. With a Portrait by Lehmann. Demy 8vo 7s. 6d.

SEVENTY-ONE NOT OUT: the Reminiscences of WILLIAM CAFFYN. Edited by 'MID-ON.' With numerous Illustrations. In 1 vol. crown 8vo. [*In May.*]

PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE. Edited by Professor SAINTSBURY. In 12 vols. crown 8vo. each 5s. net.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By F. J. SNELL. [*Now ready.*]

THE AUGUSTAN AGES. By OLIVER ELTON, B.A. [*Shortly.*]

THE COUNTY HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND. With Maps. In demy 8vo. vols. 7s. 6d. net each.

ROXBURGH, PEEBLES, AND SELKIRK. By Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, Bart. of Springwood Park. [*Ready.*]

PREHISTORIC SCOTLAND AND ITS PLACE IN EUROPEAN CIVILISATION. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.D., F.R.S.E.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, Edinburgh and London.

THE LIFE OF THE EDITOR OF 'THE GOLDEN TREASURY.'

FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE:

HIS JOURNALS AND MEMORIES OF HIS LIFE

By GWENLLIAN F. PALGRAVE.

With Portrait and Illustration. 8vo. 10s. 6d

SATURDAY REVIEW. — Miss Gwendlian Palgrave has acquitted herself well.

ATHENÆUM. — Miss Palgrave is to be heartily congratulated upon her unaffected narrative.

DAILY NEWS. — Among the many volumes of family biographies with which the press teems, this will be remarkable for the admirable taste with which it has been edited.

LIVERPOOL COURIER. — As editor, author, essayist, poet, critic, and man of culture, Palgrave occupied a high position in English literature, and this admirable work, which contains his portrait, is a fitting tribute to his memory.

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE. — Miss Palgrave has carried out her task with admirable taste. Her book shows Palgrave to have been a man of remarkable attainments in many respects, and of a singularly tender and beautiful character.

ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS. — This volume, made up largely of Palgrave's journals and letters, with "memories" from various sources, is in excellent taste throughout. . . . There are good materials to work with, and they have been turned to good account.

STANDARD. — Full of interest from the first page to the last, not so much on account of Palgrave's own position in the world of letters, though it was a highly distinguished one, as for its great variety of references to the leading men of the day, and to their opinions on questions of art, literature, and religion.

GLASGOW HERALD. — In making selections from her father's journals and correspondence, Miss Palgrave has apparently done her work well, and has at all events secured the material for many interesting pages. Her connecting narrative certainly does not cut on the side of diffuseness, and is always in faultless taste. An excellent portrait stands for frontispiece of a volume which contains no inadequate memoir of its subject.

DAILY CHRONICLE. — The filial piety of his daughter, which prompted her to complete this renunciation of a manifestly idolised father in little more than a year after his death, provides us with the portrait of a beautiful character, built up of perfect sincerity and an impassioned love of truth. Those who knew Palgrave only as the literary critic will know him better, even as a critic, from the side-lights which are thrown upon his published work by this delicately-painted portrait.

DAILY TELEGRAPH. — Miss Gwendlian F. Palgrave has performed her labour of love with excellent judgment and the supreme good taste which one would expect to find in the daughter of so cultured and restrained a critic. There is not a word too much. The bulk of the book is made up of the letters which the Professor wrote to his friends, of their letters to him, and extracts from his journal. His biographer supplies the connecting links, and weaves the story into a complete and well-rounded whole. . . . The book is full of good things.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO.'S ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: an Historical, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social, and Commercial Sketch of the Philippine Archipelago. By JOHN FORBESMAN, F.R.G.S. NEW EDITION, re-written, with 100 pages of additional matter, bringing the book up to date of American Occupation. With 6 full-page illustrations. 8vo. cloth, 21s.

THE CATHEDRAL BUILDERS: the Story of a Great Guild. By LEADER SCOTT, Hon. Mem. Accademia delle Belle Arti, Florence. Author of 'The Renaissance of Art in Italy,' 'Tuscan Studios,' 'Echoes of Old Florence,' 'Handbook of Sculpture,' &c. About 80 Full-page Illustrations. In 1 Volume, royal 8vo. cloth extra, 454 pp. Price 21s.

ALSO—A SPECIAL EDITION limited to One Hundred Copies, Crown 4to. Printed on Imperial Hand-made Paper, the Illustrations printed on Japanese Paper, price Three Guineas net. [Immediate.]

The work is divided into four books, treating respectively of: I. Romano-Lombard Architects; II. The First Foreign Emigrations of the Guild; III. Romanesque Architects; IV. Italian Gothic and Renaissance Architects.

NAVAL HISTORY. Vols. I. III. ready Vol. IV ready in April.

THE ROYAL NAVY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By WM. LAMOND CROWES. Each volume will be complete in itself, with an Index, and orders will be taken either for sets or for separate Vols. In five handsome royal 8vo. vols. 25s. each net.

THE CONTINUOUS—The present work, in the preparation of which Mr. LAMOND CROWES is being assisted by Sir CORNELIUS MARHAM, K.C.B., P.R.G.S.; Captain A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N.; Mr. H. W. WILSON, Author of 'Ironclads in Action'; Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Mr. CARR LAUGHTON, and many other competent writers, thus at being a trustful by and, as far as space allows, a complete history, from the earliest times to the present.

ALL THE WORLD'S FIGHTING SHIPS. By FRED T. JANE. Edition for 1899. Entirely revised and with many additions, giving portraits of every Man-of-War in the World. With Letter-press in Four Languages Oblong 4to. cloth gilt, 15s. [Ready.]

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH MERCHANT SERVICE. By R. J. CORNFELLS-JONES. With many Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth, 11s.

'This is a splendid book for mariners. . . . A most attractive feature is its many illustrations. Details are given which those engaged in the merchant service will find extremely useful.' Scotsman. 'It extends to over four hundred pages. The Trinity House, Lloyds, and the Board of Trade have assisted the author with much valuable information. The work is fully illustrated.'

BURMA. By MAX, and BERNIA FERRIER. 1 vol. demy 4to. 330 pp text, and 160 Illustrations from Photographs, cloth extra, 50s. net [In preparation]

The life of the Burman is portrayed from the cradle to the grave. A series of 150 consecutive photographs illustrates the characteristic situations in the life of the leading race, the aboriginal and hill races, the effects of scenery, the animals, and the vegetation. The portrayal of no people has yet been carried out with this degree of fulness and of beauty.

THREE PLEASANT SPRINGS IN PORTUGAL. By Commander the Hon. H. N. STONE, R.N. With Map and 15 full-page Illustrations from the Author's Drawings. Demy 8vo. cloth. [Available ready.]

WITH A PALETTE IN EASTERN PALACES. By D. M. MERRICK. With Photographs, Portrait and other Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, gilt top, 6s. [Ready.]

'A most delightful little volume' DAILY NEWS, March 16, 1899.

'Distinctly diverting is this novel narrative, and it may be recommended heartily to lovers of light reading.' GLOBE.

BOOKS WORTH READING: a Plea for the Best, and an Essay towards selection, with a list of Famous Books for leisure reading, and a short introduction to about eighty books of the world's great authors. By FRANK W. HARRERY, Barrister at Law. 8vo. [Shortly]

HOW TO GET STRONG AND HOW TO STAY SO. By W. BLAKIE. Entirely Revised and very much enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. 160 pages, illustrated, cloth, 6s. [Ready]

From the PAUL MALL GAZETTE.—'This is one of the most useful books now in the market, because it deals practically and soundly with the one thing that is of vital importance to everybody, physical fitness. . . . If a man cannot get strong and healthy after reading Mr. Blakie, he or his constitution does not deserve it.'

MANUAL OF FIRST AID: being a Text book for Ambulance Classes and a Work of Reference for Domestic and General Use. By Dr. J. A. AUGUST, Lecturer to St. John's Ambulance Association, and Author of 'Ambulance Sermons.' Illustrated with Diagrams. D. dictated by permission to H.H.H. PRINCESS, Chairman of St. John's Hospital. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. [Ready.]

NEW METHODS IN EDUCATION: ART—REAL MANUAL TRAINING—NATURE STUDY: a planning Process whereby Hand, Eye, and Mind are educated by means that conserve vitality and develop a union of thought and action. By J. LINDSEY TADD. With 475 original illustrations and 41 full-page Plates. Imperial 8vo. 14s. net. [Ready.]

London: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY, LIMITED,
St. Dunstons House, Fleet Street, E.C.

JUST PUBLISHED. With 3 Maps. 8vo. 16s.

ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF WYCLIFFE.

By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN,

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

WORLD.—‘As a brilliant picture of the manners and morals of the times, or as a literary entertainment, it is a most fascinating and stimulating achievement.’

SCOTSMAN.—‘It cannot but take rank as a leading authority in its own subject and one of the most important among recent contributions to English historical literature.’

ATHENÆUM.—‘Mr. Trevelyan’s book is among the most elaborate monographs on his period that exist. His work on the history of the Peasants’ Revolt shows him at his best. . . . His account of the insurrection in London is quite the best thing in the book, and is by far the most vivid and complete narrative of that side of the movement that we at present possess.’

DAILY CHRONICLE.—‘Mr. Trevelyan has at one bound placed himself in a high position among the historical writers of the day, and has given promise of a distinguished future. . . . We have read the book with delight and profit, and we know of no monograph which sheds more clear light on a period of English history of unique interest and importance.’

GLASGOW HERALD.—‘Mr. Trevelyan is to be congratulated on having thrown no little fresh light on the period, besides illustrating it with a notable skill of narration and description. As a first essay in historical research and composition the book is one of high and striking merit, and encourages us to expect with confidence yet further achievements from a family to which English literature and the study of English History already owe so much.’

ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS.—‘The object is to give a picture of English society, politics, and religion, and recount the leading and characteristic events in English history at the time of Wycliffe, or rather in the years 1376–85, for it is to this decade that the survey is for the most part restricted. It will be speedily recognised, too, that the work is far removed from the category of flashy and immature essays; obviously it represents much and various reading and research. Further, by way of preliminary, it may be remarked that the work does no discredit to the high standard of literary excellence associated with the author’s name.’

MORNING POST.—‘It is difficult to follow these periods of decay without some sense of melancholy, but Mr. Trevelyan keeps our sympathies alive by the skill with which he shows a writer of genius, prophetic of the future, sowing seeds that bore good fruit in subsequent generations. His book serves to remind us that even in the most corrupt and unsettled times the man of clear mind and resolute purpose can find a sphere of influence. . . . The concluding chapter on the later history of the Lollards throws much light on the course of events when the House of Lancaster abandoned the cause of the Reformers for the support of the Bishops. It supplies information which gives vivid colour to many dull chapters in ordinary school histories.’

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

READY APRIL 17.

***Index and Supplementary Volumes,
Completing the Work.*****THE DIARY OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, M.A., F.R.S.***Clark of the Acts and Secretary to the Admiralty.***Transcribed by the Rev. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.**

With Lord Braybrooke's Notes.

Edited, with Additions, by HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.Vols. I-IV, **Diary.** Vol. IX, **Index.** Vol. X, **Pepysiana.**Demy 8vo printed at the Chiswick Press, with Portraits and other Illustrations.
10s. 6d. each vol.

To Mr. Wheatley, therefore, a great debt of gratitude is due. In his pages we are able for the first time to read the actual Diary. Both in bulk and in interest the additions are most important, throwing, as they do, fresh and vivid light on the character and doings of the Diarist, and including abundant references to the persons, places, customs, events, literature, and play, which bring before our eyes the social life of the Restoration era. . . . The volumes are produced in a most attractive style, admirably printed, tastefully bound, and enriched with well-engraved portraits and other illustrations. A considerable amount of new matter has been incorporated with the Notes of Lord Braybrooke and his condutor, which the present editor has wisely decided to supplement rather than attempt to supersede. —*QUARTERLY REVIEW, January 1896.*

PEPYSIANA :**Or, Additional Notes on Particulars of Pepys' Life and on
some Passages in the Diary.****By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.**

Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Large-paper Edition on Hand-made Paper, 250 Copies only.

This Supplementary Volume, uniform with the work, contains: I. Introductory. II. The Pepys Family—Samuel Pepys' Family and Connections. III. Personal Notes of Pepys' Life. IV. The Diary Cipher and Language—King and Court. V. Friends and Acquaintances. VI. The Navy. VII. London and Local Allusions. VIII. Folk Lore and Manners. IX. Appreciation of the Man. X. Appendix. Containing—1. The Will and Codicil of Samuel Pepys, 1703. 2. The Cipher of the Diary, by J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., 1876. 3. Pepys' Account of Mr Meluyn's singular Memory. 4. Rout of the Dutch, July 26th, 1666. 5. Prince of Orange's Order from Windsor to Lord Dartmouth about the disposing of the Fleet, December 16th, 1688. 6. Earl of Sandwich's Patent. 7. Disposition of the Funeral of the Earl of Sandwich. 8. Monument in Memory of William Hewer in Clapham Church. 9. Extracts from Correspondence of Comte de Comminges, the French Ambassador at Whitehall, with Louis XIV. and the Marquis de Lionne.

With seven Plates, representing Portrait of Samuel Pepys, from the Painting at the Admiralty (now first reproduced)—The Pepysian Library, exterior and interior—The Six Volumes of the Diary—The First Page of the Diary—An Apposition Ticket of St Paul's School—Pepys' Bookplate, and other Illustrations, including four more of Pepys' Bookplates and a folding Map of London in the time of Pepys.

London : GEORGE BELL & SONS, York Street, Covent Garden.

SECOND EDITION. 8vo. price 16s.

THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

PART I. 1766—1776.

BY THE RIGHT HON.

Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart.

Author of 'The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay' and 'The Early History of Charles James Fox.'

SPEAKER. "The book is good literature. It is never dull."

ACADEMY. "Sir George Trevelyan's pen has in no respect lost its cunning."

TRUTH. "The first part of Sir George's history of "The American Revolution" is incomparably the most impartial, instructive, and interesting work that has yet appeared upon its subject."

TIMES. "Nowhere are the contemporaneous events on both sides of the Atlantic which accelerated the catastrophe more clearly brought out than in this volume. Here and there are brilliant sketches of men and manners, and terse epigrammatic sayings, recalling pages, and these by no means the least effective, of the author's illustrious uncle."

DAILY NEWS.—"The same brilliant style, the same happy wit, the same untiring industry, which rendered the "Early History of Charles James Fox" a very kinematograph of English society, and its principal political figures when Fox first astonished it, have been extended to the sober and simple scene of the American Colonies when George III. provoked the American Revolution."

SCOTSMAN.—"We have vivid pictures of the Parliaments and the political life of the period, and its social life is not omitted. We have characterisations of the men who played a part in the great drama that remind us of Macaulay, and would not have been unworthy of his pen. There are traces of the master's style. Its perfect lucidity is never wanting, while its mannerisms are subdued."

DAILY TELEGRAPH.—"The book abounds with brilliant passages of descriptive writing, with character sketches which have all the charm of a miniature and the breadth of a full-length portrait; and Sir George's personal experience of political life enables him to write as a statesman as well as an historian of the one period in English history when English statesmanship was most lamentably at fault."

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.—"Those who are acquainted with Sir George Trevelyan's previous works will not need to be told how brilliant and interesting is his picture of eighteenth-century society in London, with what wealth of illustration from memoirs and letters and forgotten books and pamphlets it is made living and actual. Here, then, we have no dry bones of history, but the life of the country reconstructed, and a great Parliamentary struggle realised for us, as it only could be realised by a writer who is familiar with the House of Commons."

BOOKMAN.—"The characters live as they only live on the pages of great historians. Not only Fox and the men of his party, but John Adams, the second President, student and ascetic; Franklin, the "analytical philosopher," with his "immortal youth"; and Washington. The book is written throughout in Sir George Trevelyan's inimitable style—a style that, with its light-hearted, epigrammatic brilliancy and sustained vigour, is good both for the finer shades of character-drawing and the vivid painting of action."

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

CHAPMAN & HALL'S NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS.

CARLYLE'S LETTERS TO HIS SISTER.

Edited, with an Introductory Essay on Carlyle as a Letter Writer, by CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND. With Portraits, Illustrations, and Facsimile. Large crown 8vo.

THE LIFE OF MAXYMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.

With Extracts from his Unpublished Correspondence. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES, Author of 'Ranthorpe,' 'The Biographical History of Philosophy,' &c., &c. A New Edition, with Portrait of Robespierre. Crown 8vo.

STORIES OF THE STREETS OF LONDON.

By H. BARTON BAKER, Author of 'Our Old Actors,' 'The London Stage from 1576 to 1888,' &c., &c. With Portraits and numerous Illustrations by CHARLES G. HARPER and others. Large crown 8vo.

PICTORIAL PICKWICKIANA.

Charles Dickens and his Illustrators. With 350 Drawings and Engravings by SEYMOUR BURN, H. K. BROWN ('Phiz'), LEROY HEATH, CROWQUET, ONWILL, GIBSON, SIR JOHN GILBERT, R.A., C. R. LESLIE, R.A., F. W. CAULTHORPE, CHAS. GREEN, R.I., &c., &c., and Notes on Contemporaneous Illustrations and Artists on Pickwick. Edited by J. GREGG. 2 vols. Large crown 8vo.

TRUE TALES OF THE INSECTS.

By L. N. BADENSOCH, Author of 'Romance of the Insect World.' With Frontispiece and 43 Illustrations by MARGARET T. D. BADENSOCH. Large crown 8vo.

KHARTOUM CAMPAIGN, 1898; or, The Re-

conquest of the Soudan. By BENNET BURCHETT, Author of 'Sudan and Khalifa,' 'Desert Warfare,' &c., &c. With Maps, Plans of Battles, numerous Illustrations, and Portrait of the Author. Demy 8vo 12s.

WILD ANIMALS IN CAPTIVITY: being an

Account of the Habits, Food, Management, and Treatment of the Beasts and Birds at the 'Zoo.' With Reminiscences and Anecdotes by A. D. BARTLETT, late Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens. Compiled and Edited by EDWARD BARTLETT, F.Z.S. With Illustrations by T. T. KILWI and Portraits. Second Impression. Large crown 8vo 7s. 6.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE NIGER: Personal

Narrative of Lieutenant HODGETT, Commander of the 1895-96 Expedition from Timbuktu to Bussa. With Maps of Route, and 100 Illustrations from Photographs taken by Members of the Expedition. Translated by Mrs. ARTHUR BELL (N. D'ANVERS). Demy 8vo 21s.

CHINA IN DECAY. A Handbook to the Far

Eastern Question. By ALEXIS KRAUSS. With 21 Illustrations and 6 Maps. Demy 8vo 12s.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF NOTED PER-

SONS AND EVENTS IN THE REIGNS OF JAMES I AND CHARLES I. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited with an Introduction by ALEX. CARLYLE, B.A. Third Impression. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

London: CHAPMAN & HALL, LTD.

CONCLUSION OF THE VERNEY MEMOIRS.

THE

Memoirs of the Verney Family.

*Compiled from the Letters and Illustrated by the Portraits
at Claydon House.*

**Vol. IV. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.
1660-1696.**

By MARGARET M. VERNEY.

With 11 Portraits, 7 Woodcuts, and Subject Index to the Complete Work.
Royal 8vo. 21s.

**Vols. I. and II.—DURING THE CIVIL
WAR.** By FRANCES PARTHURST VERNEY.
With 38 Portraits, Woodcuts, and Facsimile.
Royal 8vo. 42s.

**Vol. III.—DURING THE COMMON-
WEALTH, 1650-1660.** By MARGARET M.
VERNEY. With 10 Portraits, &c. Royal
8vo. 21s.

GLASGOW HERALD. 'Not less attractive to the general reader than valuable to the historical student.'

WORLD.—'Wherever one opens these Memoirs they are instructive and amusing, and we must not forget to praise the illustrations and the subject-index now given to the whole work.'

SPECTATOR.—'The concluding volume of these delightful Memoirs is as good as those that preceded it, and the four volumes now constitute one of the most valuable additions ever made to the domestic history of England.'

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.—'The interesting items which might be culled from the book are legion, and readers will doubtless prefer making the acquaintance of these in its pages for themselves. The portraits in the volume are capably reproduced, and there are other illustrations. A full index of names, and a "subject-index" to the whole four volumes, also find places in the book.'

NOTES AND QUERIES.—'The complete work, so far as concerns the scheme proposed, has now seen the light. On this the lover of history is to be congratulated. Books which, like the present, conduct us, so to speak, personally through some of the most striking epochs of history, and show us the thoughts of active participants in the struggles and the influence upon domestic life of the events under which the State reeled, are necessarily scarce and precious.'

ACADEMY.—'The fourth volume of the Verney Memoirs, written with such singular grace, patience, and historic sense by the present Lady Verney, extends from the Restoration to the very eve of the eighteenth century. Less occupied with tragic affairs of State than some of its predecessors, it is no whit behind-hand in all the qualities of domestic and sentimental interest. . . . So ends one of the books fullest of humanity and entertainment with which we are acquainted.'

MORNING POST.—'For anyone who wishes to comprehend the state of life and habits of thought of a great county family during the days of Dryden and Defoe, this notable collection of letters is an almost indispensable guide. Neither Pepys with his town talk, nor Evelyn with his rather cold aloofness, nor North with his common-sense and practical views, delightful as all three are, will or can supply the information to be derived from the Verney Papers. . . . Lady Verney has executed her work with great skill and fidelity, and her well-written and well-indexed book has a permanent value.'

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

BLACKIE & SON'S PUBLICATIONS.

LANDMARKS IN ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. By

GEORGE TOWNSEND WARNER, M.A., sometime scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge. 5s.
The *TIMES* says: 'The volume is never dull, and Mr. Warner's reading is considerable.'

THE GREAT CAMPAIGNS OF NELSON. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR

MORRIS, M.A. Illustrated from Captain Mahan's 'Sea Power,' and with a Portrait of Lord Nelson. 3s. 6d.

The *TIMES* says: 'The articles are clearly and attractively written, and the author has studied with intelligence the leading authorities on his subject.'

SKETCHES OF THE GREEK DRAMATIC POETS. By C. HAINES

KEENE, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Cork. 3s. 6d.

Five Lectures on Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and the Classical and Romantic Drama.

The *IRISH TIMES* says: 'Such lectures as these will be perused by all scholars with sincere pleasure. They give life to the dry bones of old history and literature, and vastly illuminate a classic period from which all the art of the modern world has derived its inspiration.'

TENNYSON: a Critical Study. By STEPHEN GWYNN, B.A. (Vic-

torian Era Series.) 2s. 6d.

LITERATURE says: 'A volume of able and interesting criticism.'

CHARLES KINGSLEY AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT. By the Very Rev. O. W. STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. (Victorian Era Series.) 2s. 6d.

The *ACADEMY* says: 'A vigorous and sympathetic account of a great personality. The extract from his books are well chosen. They are tonic.'

RECENT ADVANCES IN ASTRONOMY. By A. H. FRISON, D.Sc.

(Victorian Era Series.) 2s. 6d.

The *ATHENÆUM* says: 'This able work. . . Altogether it may be said that the volume treat of some of the most interesting recent advances in astronomy in a very trustworthy manner.'

THE SCIENCE OF LIFE: an Outline of the History of Biology and

its Recent Advances. By J. ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A. (Victorian Era Series.) 2s. 6d.

The *SPEAKER* says: 'The book is written throughout with great ability.'

STANDARD ENGLISH DICTIONARIES.

Large fcp. 16s. cloth, 7s. 6d.; half-persian, 10s. 6d.; half-morocco, 12s. 6d.

THE STUDENT'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY: Literary, Scientific,

Etymological and Pronouncing. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New Edition, thoroughly revised and greatly augmented. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D., Editor of the New Edition of 'The Imperial Dictionary.' With extensive and useful Appendices, and Illustrated by nearly 800 Wood Engravings.

The *ATHENÆUM* says: 'Leaving out of account the unwieldy and expensive recent editions of Webster and Worcester, we have no hesitation in saying that this is by far the most useful one volume English dictionary at present existing.'

Fcp. 4to. cloth, 5s.; half-oxenburgh, 6s. 6d.; half-morocco, 7s.

A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

Etymological and Pronouncing, Literary, Scientific, and Technical. By CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D.

The *SPECTATOR* says: 'Stands towards other dictionaries of the smaller character in the relation of the "Imperial" to rival lexicons—in other words, it holds the "premier" place.'

In 4 vols. Imperial 8vo. cloth, £4 net; or, half-morocco, £5 net.

THE IMPERIAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

a Complete Encyclopædic Lexicon, Literary, Etymological, Scientific, Technological, and Pronouncing. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New Edition, carefully revised and greatly augmented. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D. Illustrated by above 3,000 Engravings on Wood.

The *TIMES* says: 'So far as vocabulary and treatment are concerned, we should not wish for anything better than the new "Imperial." The etymology is clear and concise, and the illustrations are copious, appropriate, and well executed.'

London: BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED, 50 Old Bailey.

THIRD EDITION.

With 71 Illustrations from Photographs by the Author.
8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

WOOD AND GARDEN

Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical, of a
Working Amateur.

By GERTRUDE JEKYLL.

ATHENÆUM.—‘This will take its place as a classic when most of the rubbishy books beloved of the thoughtless public will be forgotten.’

QUEEN.—‘A most ably written and admirably illustrated book, which places the writer at a bound among the best writers we have on gardens.’

GUARDIAN.—‘Of all the books on gardening which have appeared in such abundance during the last few years, this is at once one of the prettiest, most interesting, and most practical.’

GARDEN.—‘This is a good and true book, full of observations of things of interest for all who love garden; clearly written, fertile in suggestion, and showing artistic effects in the garden and pleasure ground.’

DAILY NEWS.—‘A beautiful book. A book worthy of the garden among the Surrey hills, which those who have seen it declare to be a paradise indeed. Many an English garden will take colour from these pages.’

GARDENER’S MAGAZINE.—‘“Wood and Garden” is eminently fitted for both the drawing room and garden library, and can hardly fail to exercise a highly favourable influence upon the public taste in relation to gardens.’

LITERATURE.—‘Mrs. Jekyll has taken a large number of delightful photographs from various points in her own grounds and used them to illustrate her book, which we cordially recommend to every one who has a garden with time and money to spend upon it.’

WORLD.—‘The photographic illustrations of what Mrs. Jekyll has accomplished in her own pleasure well make every one who reads her book instantly long to taste the delights of making unto themselves such a paradise of flowers and trees as she has created.’

WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.—‘Among the host of distinguished amateurs, our author has surely been one of the fortunate. Her domain covers some fifteen acres. For nearly thirty years she has digged and planted, and, as the result of her labours, has reaped a rich reward. Such an experience as hers could not fail to be fruitful in suggestion; and her book, while full of the charm which intelligent and close communion with Nature gives, is eminently practical.’

DAILY CHRONICLE.—‘This most soothing and delightful of volumes. . . The book is well written, direct and practical throughout, and contains besides, passages of such marked literary ability as reveal the hand of the artist beneath the weeding-glove. . . Surely all garden lovers must want to possess a book which, besides being packed with real knowledge and invaluable hints, abounds in passages of such picturesque charm as this and in many beautifully-reproduced illustrations.’

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND RE-SET FOR ISSUE
IN THE 'SILVER LIBRARY.'

2 vols. crown 8vo. 7s.

MYTH, RITUAL, & RELIGION.

By ANDREW LANG.

. The original edition of *'Myth, Ritual, and Religion,'* published in 1887, has long been out of print. In revising the book Mr. Lang has brought it into line with the ideas expressed in the second part of his *'Making of Religion'* (1898), and has excised certain passages which, as the book first appeared, were inconsistent with its main thesis. In some cases the original passages are retained in notes, to show the nature of the development of the author's opinions. A fragment or two of controversy has been deleted, and Chapters XI. and XII., on the religion of the lowest races, have been entirely rewritten on the strength of more recent or earlier information lately acquired.

PRESS NOTICES OF ORIGINAL EDITION.

F. B. TYLOR in the *ACADEMY*.—'Of all modern writers on mythology Mr. Lang has taken up the strongest strategic position.'

THE NEW YORK TIMES.—'Mr. Lang here gathers into orderly sequence the results of long years of study. . . . Readers will be impressed by the overwhelming weight of evidence which he here marshals in support of his favourite thesis.'

BRITISH WEEKLY.—'Mr. Lang's investigation is conducted with the knowledge of a scholar and the instincts of a man of science; his arguments are terse, lively, and convincing, and the book, though long and laden with facts, is most readable. We have no hesitation in saying that it is by far the best treatment of the subject in existence.'

SCOTSMAN.—'The work is rendered unusually attractive by the bright and vigorous style in which it is written, while the extent and soundness of the learning with which it is packed render it a valuable contribution to the literature of comparative mythology.'

GUARDIAN.—'A work as lucid as it is learned, and as easy to read as it is difficult to answer. . . . We must recommend everyone to read the book for himself; the most learned may learn something from it, and the most ignorant will allow that Mr. Lang's Ahts and Athenians, Biraarks and Brahmans, if a motley crew, are very good company.'

SATURDAY REVIEW.—'The habits of savages, and the connection of those habits with the past and present creeds of mankind, are topics which, in the hands of a pedant, must certainly be dull and may not improbably become repulsive. The present work is a convincing demonstration that in the hands of one who is at once an accomplished scholar, a laborious student, a poet and a humorist, they may acquire a fascinating interest even for that less ambitious class of readers who would, but for so agreeable an instructor, be content to leave "the key to all the mythologies" unturned. . . . These volumes form a valuable contribution to the general knowledge of the subject, and will be heartily welcomed by that large class of readers to whom the relation of modern man to the dim ancestral generations that have passed away will ever remain a topic of inexhaustible interest.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

POPULAR NOVELS AND TALES.

BY F. ANSTEY.

The Black Poodle, and other Stories. Price
2s. boards; 3s. 6d. cloth.

BY THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

Vivian Grey.	Lothair.
Venetia.	Tancred.
Coningsby.	Sybil.
Alroy, Izion, &c.	
Endymion.	
The Young Duke, &c.	
Contarini Fleming, &c.	
Henrietta Temple.	

Price 1s. 6d. each.

THE HUGHENDEN EDITION. With 2
Portraits and 11 Vignettes. 11 vols. 42s.

BY MRS. DELAND.

John Ward, Preacher. 2s. bd.; 2s. 6d. cl.
Philip and His Wife. 2s. 6d.
The Story of a Child. 5s.
Mr. Tommy Dove, and other Stories. 6s.
The Wisdom of Fools. 5s.

BY L. DOUGALL.

Beggars All. 3s. 6d.
What Necessity Knows. 6s.

BY A. CONAN DOYLE.

Micah Clarke. 3s. 6d.
The Captain of the Polestar, &c. 3s. 7d.
The Refugees. 3s. 6d.
The Stark-Munro Letters. 3s. 6d.

BY F. W. FARRAR, D.D.

Darkness and Dawn; or, Scenes in the
Days of Nero. 7s. 6d.
Gathering Clouds: a Tale of the Days of
St. Chrysostom. 7s. 6d.

BY EDITH N. FOWLER.

The Young Pretenders: a Story of Child
Life. With 12 Illustrations. 6s.
The Professor's Children. 24 Illus. 6s.

BY J. A. FROUDE.

The Two Chiefs of Dunboy. 3s. 6d.

BY A. H. GILKES.

Kallistratus: an Autobiography. A Story
of Hannibal and the Second Punic War.
With 3 Illustrations. 6s.

BY P. ANDERSON GRAHAM.

The Red Scour: a Story of the North
Country. 6s.

BY H. RIDER HAGGARD.

Dawn. With 16 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
The Witch's Head. With 16 Illus. 3s. 6d.
She. With 32 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
Allan Quatermain. With 31 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Colonel Quaritch, V.C. 3s. 6d.
Malwa's Revenge. 1s. 6d.
Mr. Messon's Will. With 16 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Allan's Wife. With 34 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
Cleopatra. With 29 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
Beatrice. 3s. 6d.
Eric Brighteyes. With 31 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Nada the Lily. With 23 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Monteruma's Daughter. 24 Illus. 3s. 6d.
The People of the Mist. 16 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Joan Haste. With 30 Illustrations. 3s. 6d.
Heart of the World. With 15 Illus. 3s. 6d.
Doctor Thorne. 3s. 6d.
Swallow. With 8 Illustrations. 6s.

BY H. RIDER HAGGARD

AND ANDREW LANG.

The World's Desire. 3s. 6d.

BY BRET HARTE.

In the Carquinez Woods, &c. 3s. 6d.

BY ANTHONY HOPE.

The Heart of Princess Osra. 6s.

BY E. W. HORNUNG.

The Unbidden Guest. 3s. 6d.

BY JEROME K. JEROME.

Sketches in Lavender: Blue and Green.
3s. 6d.

BY ANDREW LANG.

A Monk of Fife: a Story of the Days of
Joan of Arc. With 13 Illus. 3s. 6d.

BY S. LEVETT-YEATS.

The Chevalier d'Aurillac. 3s. 6d.
A Galahad of the Creeks, and other
Stories. 6s.
The Heart of Denise, and other Tales.
With Frontispiece. 6s.

BY EDNA LYALL.

The Autobiography of a Slander. 1s.
With 30 Illustrations by LANCELOT SPEED.
3s. 6d. net.
Doreen, the Story of a Singer. 6s.
Wayfaring Men: a Theatrical Story. 6s.
Hope the Hermit. 6s.

BY HENRY SETON MERRIMAN.

Flotaam: a Story of the Indian Mutiny.
With Frontispiece and Vignette. 3s. 6d.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

POPULAR NOVELS AND TALES.

BY CARDINAL NEWMAN.

Callista. 2s. 6d.
Loss and Gain. 2s. 6d.

BY MRS. OLIPHANT.

In Trust. Madam.
Price 1s. 6d. each.
Old Mr. Tredgold. 2s. 6d.

BY MRS. PARR.

Can this be Love? 2s. 6d.

BY JAMES PAYN.

The Luck of the Darrells.
Thicker than Water.
Price 1s. 6d. each.

BY C. PHILLIPPS-WOLLEY.

Snap. 3s. 6d.

BY WALTER RAYMOND.

Two Men o' Mendip. 6s.

BY EMILY E. READER.

Priestess and Queen: a Tale of the White
Race of Mexico. Illustrated by EMILY E.
READER. 6s.

BY OWEN RHOSCOMYL.

The Jewel of Ynys Galon. With 12 Illus-
trations by LANCELOT SPRECK. 3s. 6d.
For the White Rose of Arno: a Story of
the Jacobite Rising of 1745. 6s.

BY ELIZABETH M. SEWELL.

Amy Herbert.	Cleve Hall.
Gertrude.	Ivora.
Ursula.	Earl's Daughter.
Home Life.	After Life.
The Experience of Life.	
A Glimpse of the World.	
Katharine Ashton.	
Margaret Percival.	
Langton Parsonage.	

Price 1s. 6d. each, cloth; 2s. 6d. each, gilt edges.

BY WILLIAM STEBBING.

Probable Tales. 4s. 6d.

BY ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.
Hyde. Sewed, 1s.; cloth, 1s. 6d.
The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.
Hyde, with other Fables. 3s. 6d.
More New Arabian Nights—The Dyna-
miter. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON and
FANNY VAN DE GRIFT STEVENSON. 3s. 6d.
The Wrong Box. By ROBERT LOUIS
STEVENSON and LLOYD ORBOURNE. 3s. 6d.

BY BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

Lay Down your Arms (*Die Waffen Nieder*):
The Autobiography of Martha von Tilling.
1s. 6d.

BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

The Warden.
Barchester Towers.
Price 1s. 6d. each.

BY L. B. WALFORD.

The Intruders. 6s.
Liddy Marget. 6s.

Mr. Smith: a Part of His Life.
The Baby's Grandmother.
Cousins.
Troublesome Daughters.
Pauline. Dick Netherby.
The History of a Week.
A Stiff-Necked Generation.
Nan, and other Stories.
The Mischief of Monica.
The One Good Guest.
Iva Kildare: a Matrimonial Problem.
'Ploughed,' and other Stories.
The Matchmaker.

Price 2s. 6d. each.

BY MRS. WILFRID WARD.

One Poor Scruple. 6s.

BY ALFRED E. T. WATSON.

Racing and 'Chasing: a Collection of
Sporting Stories. With 62 Illus. 7s. 6d.

BY STANLEY WEYMAN.

The House of the Wolf. 2s. 6d.
A Gentleman of France. 6s.
The Red Cockade. With Frontispiece and
Vignette. 6s.
Shrewsbury: a Romance of the Reign of
William III. With 24 Illustrations. 6s.

BY FRED WHISHAW.

A Boyar of the Terrible: a Romance of
the Court of Ivan the Cruel, First Tsar
of Russia. With 12 Illustrations. 6s.
A Tsar's Gratitude: a Story of Modern
Russia. 6s.

BY G. J. WHYTE-MELVILLE.

The Gladiators.	Digby Grand.
The Interpreter.	General Bounce.
Holmby House.	Good for Nothing.
Kate Coventry.	Queen's Maries.

Price 1s. 6d. each.

BY MARGARET L. WOODS.

Weeping Ferry, and other Stories. 6s.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

NEW NOVEL OF AFRICAN LIFE BY MR. H. RIDER HAGGARD.

With 8 Full-page Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN.

Crown 8vo. 6s.

SWALLOW:

A TALE OF THE GREAT TREK

By H. RIDER HAGGARD.

ECHO — 'One of the most successful of his recent romances.'

CRITIC — '“Swallow” will take a very high place in African fiction.'

BOOKMAN. — 'The best romance Mr. Rider Haggard has written for years.'

DAILY MAIL. — 'The book is full of excitement, surprising adventure, and strong human interest.'

AFRICAN REVIEW. — 'There is not a dull page in the book; and the climax is capitally worked up to.'

SCOTSMAN. — 'A most exciting series of startling and sensational deeds and incidents, and the interest goes on increasing to the end.'

ACADEMY. — 'On the whole this is the best romance Mr. Haggard has written for some years, if we cannot rank it with “King Solomon's Mines.”'

SATURDAY REVIEW. — 'Mr. Rider Haggard, for purposes of romance, is on his native heath in South Africa. In “Swallow” he has come appreciably near to repeating the success of “King Solomon's Mines.”'

QUEEN. — 'In his new tale of the great Trek Mr. Rider Haggard returns to his happiest hunting ground, and, making use of his wealth of knowledge of Boer and Kaffir life and character, has once more put together an exciting story.'

WORLD. — '“Swallow,” by Mr. H. Rider Haggard, is his best romance of Africa. . . . The Boer and Kaffir studies, the picture of manners, the motives of the trek, its hardships and dangers, are of great interest; while the actual romance is of the best quality in its order.'

STAR. — 'No better told story has been published for a long while, and Mr. Haggard still easily distances all his rivals and imitators in the faculty which is more indispensable than any other in this kind of story—the faculty of invention. His people, too, without any labouring at characterisation, are all alive, some, of course, more than others. In short, “Swallow” is a romance of which Mr. Haggard has the right to feel proud.'

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE. — 'To say that this is one of Mr. Rider Haggard's best is to say a good deal; but it may fairly be said he stands on his own literary native heath, South Africa. His characters are full of life, and his imagination runs riot in a fine tangle of love and adventure. . . . It is a relief to turn away from the plethora of mawkish Society novels and sex-problem essays with which modern bookshelves are crammed, and to greet again a master who can handle more wholesome material to such good advantage.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

BOOKS FOR THE SPRINGTIME

OFFERED AT GREATLY REDUCED PRICES BY

W. H. SMITH & SON,

188 STRAND, LONDON,

And at the Railway Bookstalls, to which places they will be forwarded Carriage Free.
THE BOOKS ARE NEW AS PUBLISHED.

	Pub. at	Off. at
Ablett, W. H., Market Garden Husbandry for Farmers and General Cultivators ..	5 0	2 0
Arnold, E. L., Bird Life in England ..	6 0	2 6
Catlow, Agnes, Popular Garden Botany. With Plates ..	5 0	3 0
Popular Greenhouse Botany. With Plates ..	5 0	3 0
Ditchfield, P. H., M.A., Old English Sports, Pastimes and Customs ..	2 6	1 0
Our English Villages: their Story and their Antiquities ..	2 6	1 0
Field Club, The: A Garner of Country Lore for Nature Lovers. Gleaned by the Rev. T. Wood, F.R.S. ..	4 6	3 0
Forestry and Forest Products: Prize Essays of the Edinburgh International Forestry Exhibition, 1894. Edited by JOHN BATHAY, F.R.S.L., F.R.S., and HUGH ROBERT MILL ..	16 0	6 6
Garden Flowers, Familiar. Complete in 5 Series. With Descriptive Text by SHIRLEY HIBBOLD, and 40 Full-page Coloured Plates in each Series from Original Paintings by F. E. HULME, F.R.S., F.S.A. Crown 8vo. ..	62 0	37 6
Japp, A. J., Hours in my Garden, and other Nature Sketches. Illustrated ..	6 0	4 0
Lankester, Mrs., British Ferns: their Classification, Structure, and Functions With best Methods for their Cultivation. Illustrated ..	3 6	2 9
Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.R.S. D.C.L. LL.D., A Contribution to our Knowledge of Seedlings. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Over 600 pp. Each 644 Figures in the Text. Exhaustive Bibliography and Index. (Published at 32s. net, cloth)	—	21 0
Meredith, J., Treatise on the Grape Vine. With Plans ..	7 6	3 6
Moore T., F.L.S., F.H.S., A Popular History of the British Ferns. Coloured Illustrations ..	5 0	3 0
Paxton, Sir Joseph, and Professor Lindley, The Flower Garden. Revised by T. BAINES, F.R.H.S. 100 Coloured Plates. 3 vols. ..	105 0	37 6
Robinson, J. F., British Tree Farming: its Profits and Pleasures ..	5 0	2 0
Robinson, Phil., Some Country Sights, and Sounds ..	6 0	2 0
Roland, Arthur, Dairy Farming: Management of Cows, &c. (Second Edition) ..	5 0	2 0
Root Growing and the Cultivation of Hops ..	5 0	2 0
Stock Keeping and Cattle Rearing ..	5 0	2 0
The Drainage of Land, Irrigation, and Manures ..	5 0	2 0
Tree Planting for Ornamentation or Profit, Suitable for every Soil and Situation ..	5 0	2 0
Seeman, B., Ph.D., M.A., Popular History of the Palms and their Allies. With Plates ..	5 0	3 0
Stark, R. M., A Popular History of British Mosses. Coloured Illustrations Wild Flowers, Familiar. Complete in 5 Series. By F. E. HULME, F.R.S., F.S.A. With 40 Full-page Coloured Plates in each Series, and Descriptive Text ..	62 6	37 6
Dixon, C., Annals of Bird Life ..	7 6	4 0
Birds of our Rambles ..	6 0	3 6
British Sea Birds. With 8 Illustrations by CHARLES WHYMPER ..	10 6	4 6
Idle Hours with Nature ..	4 0	3 6
Jottings about Birds ..	6 0	3 6
Nests and Eggs of British Birds ..	6 0	3 6
Nests and Eggs of Non-Indigenous Birds ..	6 0	3 6
The Game Birds and Wild Fowl of the British Islands ..	18 0	7 6
The Migration of Birds ..	7 6	4 0
Pease, A. E., Horse Breeding for Farmers ..	3 6	2 0
Hartig, Professor, Text Book of the Diseases of Trees. Translated by W. BONKERVILLE, and revised and edited by H. MARSHALL WARD. 8vo. ..	10 0	3 0
Hobday, E., Villa Gardening. A Handbook for Amateur and Practical Gardeniers ..	6 0	2 6
Nisbet, J., British Forest Trees and their Sylvicultural Characteristics and Treat- ment ..	6 0	3 6
Yonge, Charlotte M., The Herb of the Field ..	5 0	2 0
Allen, Grant, Science in Arcahy ..	5 0	2 0
Wild Birds, Familiar. Complete in 4 Series. By W. SWAYLAND. With 40 Full- page Illustrations, and numerous Wood Engravings in each Volume ..	52 0	50 0
Farmer's Own Book: comprising Full and Practical Instruction on all Points connected with Cattle, Poultry, and other Live Stock in Health and Sickness, for Sale or Breeding Purposes. With Chapters on the Treatment of Dogs and Cats 210 Illustrations ..	3 6	2 0
Farm Management, The Book of: a Complete Encyclopedia of Rural Occupa- tions and Country Life. With numerous Illustrations (Leithburgh) ..	7 6	4 0
Badenoch, L. N., Romance of the Insect World. With Illustrations by MARGARET J. D. BADENOCH and others. Crown 8vo. ..	6 0	2 6
Birds of Devon, The. By Messrs. D'URBAN and MATHEW. Coloured Plates, Photo- graphs and Maps. Second Edition, with Supplement. Demy 8vo. ..	21 0	12 6
Headley, F. W., M.A., F.Z.S., Assistant Master in Halesbury College, The Structure and Life of Birds. With 78 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. ..	7 6	3 0
Garden Management, The Book of, comprising Information on Lay-out and Planting Gardens. Illustrated ..	7 6	3 6

Just published. Crown 8vo. 6s.

TWO MEN O' MENDIP:

A NOVEL.

By WALTER RAYMOND,

Author of 'Gentleman Upcott's Daughter' &c.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—‘A powerful and well-told little story, which keeps its interest strong and level.’

BRITISH WEEKLY.—‘We cannot praise too highly this powerful and original novel. It is the best that Mr. Raymond has given us.’

GLASGOW HERALD.—‘This is a story which undoubtedly merits very high praise; it is by far the best thing Mr. Raymond has yet done.’

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.—‘A story of admirable strength and most interesting local colour. . . . Fastidious readers must make a note of “Two Men o' Mendip.”’

WESTERN DAILY PRESS (Bristol).—‘Walter Raymond, who has been styled the Somersetshire Barrie, has shown in it the touch of a master hand of fiction.’

BOOKMAN.—‘It is Mr. Raymond's fine and delicate restraint, his suggestive style, where there is never a word too much, that mark him as a craftsman of no common order.’

SCOTSMAN.—‘The story is fresh and powerful throughout, nowhere more so than in its engaging picture of the western farmer's daughter. Its author has written nothing better, and the tale deserves to be widely read.’

COUNTRY LIFE.—‘The rural background and the pleasant Somersetshire air are charmingly presented in pages that are very delightful, though mournful to read. This book, indeed, is a great advance upon “Gentleman Upcott,” and is highly meritorious.’

BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE.—‘Whether it be the setting of the tender Somersetshire story, or the clean-cut individualistic characters that throng its pages, which charm us most we cannot tell. For “Two Men o' Mendip” we have many words of praise and few of fault-finding.’

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—‘The telling of the whole is simple as the circumstances and people, increasing in vivid force as fate hurries to the dividing of the thread. Mr. Raymond has made a good book in this recital of primitive passions running their unrestrained course.’

ACADEMY.—‘In its way this tragic idyll is a perfect piece of work. It follows the course of a little lie to a great disaster without confusion or excess of detail, and softens an effect which might easily have been overharsh and grim by charming sketches of landscape and touches of comedy.’

ATHENEUM.—‘The author has made good use of local colour and of the dark episodes in a story which shows no little ability and artistic perception. . . . Patty Winterhead's ill-fated love for the miner, and the crime which destroyed her father's life, form a moving tale of considerable merit.’

SPECTATOR.—‘There are no jarring notes, no strained pathos in this simple story of a father doomed by the inexorable irony of fate to be the executioner of his dearly loved and only daughter. Set in a serene English landscape, the story marches to its close with all the inevitableness of an Æschylean tragedy.’

DAILY CHRONICLE.—‘Mr. Raymond has written some charming stories before but he has never done anything one-half so good as this. After thinking the matter over carefully, we have come to the conclusion that there is not one single fault to be found with it. . . . It is lighted up again and again by delightful touches of humour and subtle strokes of characterisation. In fine, we desire to praise this story highly, and whatever be its fate at the reading public's hands, we shall stand by our praise.’

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

J. NISBET & CO.'s NEW BOOKS

DANTON: a Study. By HILAIRE BELLOC, B.A., late Scholar of

Balliol College, Oxford. Demy 8vo., with Photogravure Portrait, 16s.

'Mr. Hilaire Belloc's admirable life will fill a place from which it will not be easy to displace it. His study is philosophical, luminous, and exact, and, so far as the ascertained facts of Danton's life are concerned, exhaustive.'—SCOTSMAN.

'One is amazed at this book coming from so young a writer. In spite of paradox and occasional gush, the style in the main is as lofty and pure as is his treatment of his magnificent subject.'—LITERATURE.

THE GREAT LORD BURGHLEY: a Study in Elizabethan

Statescraft. By MARTIN A. S. HUMS. With Photogravure Portrait. Demy 8vo., 12s. 6d.

'In Major Hums's volume we have at last an adequate biography of Lord Burghley.'—SPECTATOR.
'An able, thoughtful, and stimulating book, which is likely to remain the standard biography of the founder of the house of Cecil.'—SPEAKER.

'Not merely a comprehensive view of the political methods and achievements of Burghley, more complete and clear than anything previously attempted, but also a striking personal picture.'—DAILY CHRONICLE.

FRAGMENTS OF AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By FÉLIX

MOSCHKES, Author of 'In Bohemia with Du Maurier' &c. With 3 Photogravure Illustrations. Demy 8vo., 10s. 6d.

'A decidedly entertaining book.'—TIMES.
'A sparkling book, written by a light-hearted man, who is luckily able to say that he has lived a thoroughly happy life.'—GLASGOW HERALD.

'Nothing in the book exerts so much charm as the memories of Browning.'—LIVERPOOL MERCURY.
'Extremely entertaining.'—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

JOHN RUSKIN, SOCIAL REFORMER. By J. A. HOBSON.

With Photogravure Portrait. Demy 8vo., 10s. 6d.

[Second Edition in the press.]

'A very thoughtful and interesting treatise.'—SPECTATOR.
'Mr. Hobson has in this beautiful and heart-searching analysis of Ruskin's teaching made the crooked paths straight and the rough places plain; he has, in fact, synthesised it, so that the man in the street can understand it if he will. No living economist is more thoroughly equipped for the task.'—BRADFORD OBSERVER.

J. NISBET & CO., Ltd., 21 Berners Street, London, W.: and of all Booksellers.

8vo. 16s.

THE

Traditional Poetry of the Finns.

By DOMENICO COMPARETTI,

Socio dell' Accademia dei Lincei, Membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c.

Translated by ISABELLA M. ANDERTON. With Introduction by ANDREW LANG.

BOOKMAN.—'The translation of Signor Comparetti's important and fascinating book is a model of its kind. It stands the great test, absolute faithfulness, with a style so lucid and idiomatic that no reader could discover that the English was not original. . . . Comparetti's masterly treatise is of singular interest.'

LITERATURE.—'We welcome with keen pleasure this English version of Comparetti's masterly treatise, and cordially congratulate the careful translator on the successful accomplishment of her arduous task. For the English lover of folk-lore, or student of comparative mythology, the book is of the highest importance.'

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'It would be almost an impertinence to praise the vast erudition, the lucid reasoning, and the exhaustive analyses of Professor Comparetti. . . . It is one of the most important contributions to the science of folk-lore that has appeared for many a long day, and we quite agree with Mr. Lang that, in future, the learned will be obliged to reckon with Comparetti.'

PALL MALL GAZETTE.—'This excellent specimen of modern Italian scholarship possesses a twofold value. In the first place, it is a masterly monograph on the traditional poetry of Finland—its causes, nature, peculiarities, and history. Secondly, the conclusions drawn by Professor Comparetti after his elaborate examination of this poetry are of the greatest importance as a contribution to the study of the origins of national epics in general, and of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" in particular. It was, in fact, for this purpose that the book was written.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

NEW THEOLOGICAL BOOKS.

The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.

Produced under the Editorship of the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's; and the Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

The First Volume is now ready. Crown 8vo. 5s.

RELIGION. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

GUARDIAN.—"The Oxford Library of Practical Theology" makes a good beginning with Canon Newbolt's volume on Religion. . . . We shall look with much interest for the subsequent volumes of this series, since, if only the good beginning that has been made is kept up, we shall find them an addition to our theological literature that will prove of lasting value."

NEW BOOK BY DEAN FARRAR.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; or, Helps to Understand the New Testament. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury, and Deputy Clerk of the Closet to the Queen. Crown 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

NEW BOOK BY CANON MACCOLL.

THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT: Examined in the Light of History and Law. With an Introductory Letter to the Right Hon. Sir W. V. Harcourt, M.P. By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, D.D., Canon Residentiary of Ripon. Crown 8vo. [In the press.]

THE EPISCOPATE OF CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews. By the Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With Portraits. 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Illustrated by the History and Canon Law of the Undivided Church from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. By the Rev. A. THRODMORE WIGGAM, D.D., D.C.L., late Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Provost of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT: a Letter to the Bishop of Winchester. By VISCOUNT HALIFAX. 8vo. sewed, 1s. net.

THE SPIRIT OF WATCHFULNESS, and other Sermons. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5s.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE: being an attempt to make this book more intelligible to the ordinary reader and so to encourage the study of it. By Rev. CRESSWELL STRANGE, M.A., Vicar of Edgbaston, and Honorary Canon of Worcester. Crown 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

TRUE LIMITS OF RITUAL IN THE CHURCH. Edited by the Rev. ROBERT LINKLATER, D.D., Vicar of Stroud Green. Crown 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

CONTENTS.—Preface. Introductory Essay, by the Rev. ROBERT LINKLATER, D.D.—The Ornaments Rubric, by J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, V.P.S.A.—The Catholic Principle of Conformity in Divine Worship, by the Rev. C. F. G. TURNER—A Plea for Reasonableness, by the Rev. JOHN WYDER—Intelligible Ritual, by the Rev. HENRY ARNOTT—The English Liturgy, by the Rev. T. A. LACEY—Eucharistic Ritual, by the Rev. W. F. CONN, D.D.—Suggestions for a Basis of Agreement in Matters Liturgical and Ceremonial, by the Rev. H. E. HALL.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev S. A. ALEXANDER, M.A., Reader of the Temple. [In the press.]

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE SILVER LIBRARY.

'It is superfluous to praise the "Silver Library." It contains, perhaps, the best collection of cheap copyright classics accessible to the British public.—BRITISH WEEKLY.

BIOGRAPHY.

BAGEHOT (W.).	s. d.
Biographical Studies	3 6
FROUDE (J. A.).	
Cæsar: a Sketch	3 6
Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life, 1795-1835. 2 vols.	7 0
1834-1881. 2 vols.	7 0
GLEIG Rev. G. R.).	
Life of the Duke of Wellington. With Portrait... ..	3 6
KÖSTLIN (J.).	
Life of Luther. With 62 Illustrations and 4 Fac-similes of MSS.	3 6
MARBOT (BARON de).	
Memoirs. Translated. 2 vols.	7 0
MARSHMAN (J. C.).	
Memoirs of Sir Henry Havlock	3 6

FICTION.

DOUGALL (L.).	
Beggars All. a Novel	3 6
DOYLE (A. CONAN).	
Micah Clarke: a Tale of Montgomery's Rebellion. With 10 Illustrations	3 6
The Captain of the 'Polestar,' and other Tales	3 6
The Refugees: a Tale of the Huguenots. With 25 Illustrations	3 6
The Stark Munro Letters	3 6
FROUDE (J. A.).	
The Two Chiefs of Dunboy: an Irish Romance of the Last Century	3 6
HAGGARD (H. R.).	
Allan Quatermain. With 20 Illustrations	3 6
Allan's Wife. With 34 Illustrations	3 6
Beatrice. With Frontispiece and Vignette	3 6
Cleopatra. With 29 Illustrations	3 6
Colonel Quaritch, V.C.: a Tale of Country Life. With Frontispiece and Vignette	3 6
Dawn. With 16 Illustrations	3 6
Eric Brighteyes. With 51 Illustrations	3 6

FICTION.

HAGGARD (H. R.)	
Heart of the World. With 15 Illustrations	3 0
Joan Haste. With 20 Illustrations	3 0
Mr. Meeson's Will. With 16 Illustrations	3 0
Montezuma's Daughter. With 25 Illustrations	3 6
Nada the Lily. With 23 Illustrations	3 0
She: a History of Adventure. With 32 Illustrations	3 0
The People of the Mist. With 16 Illustrations	3 6
The Witch's Head. With 16 Illustrations	3 0
HAGGARD (H. R.) & LANG (A.).	
The World's Desire. With 27 Illustrations	3 0
HARTE (BRET).	
In the Carquenes Woods, and other Stories	3 6
HORNUNG (E. W.).	
The Unbidden Guest	3 0
LANG (A.).	
A Monk of Fife: a Story of the Days of Joan of Arc. With 15 Illustrations	3 0
LEVETT-YEATS (S.).	
The Chevalier D'Auriac	3 6
MERRIMAN (H. S.).	
Flotsam: a Story of the Indian Mutiny	3 6
PHILLIPS-WOLLEY (C.).	
Snap: a Legend of the Lone Mountain. With 18 Illustrations	3 0
STEVENSON (R. L.).	
The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables	3 0
STEVENSON (R. L.) and OSBOURNE (LI.).	
The Wrong Box	3 6
STEVENSON (R. L.) and STEPHENSON (FANNY VAN DE GRIFT).	
More New Arabian Nights—The Dynamiter	3 6
WEYMAN (STANLEY J.).	
The House of the Wolf: a Romance	3 6

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE SILVER LIBRARY.

'A bookbuyer might order the whole "Silver Library" with absolute confidence that every volume would be worth preserving as first-rate English literature.'—INDEPENDENT.

TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE.

FROUDE (J. A.). *s. d.*

Oceans; or, England and her Colonies.
With 9 Illustrations... .. 3 6

HOWITT (W.).

Visits to Remarkable Places.
With 80 Illustrations... .. 3 6

KNIGHT (E. F.).

*The Cruise of the 'Alerte':
the Narrative of a Search for
Treasure on the Desert Island of
Trinidad. With 2 Maps and 23
Illustrations*... .. 3 6

*The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: a
Coasting Voyage from Ham-
burgh to Copenhagen in a Three-
Ton Yacht. With Map and 11
Illustrations*... .. 3 6

*Where Three Empires Meet:
a Narrative of Recent Travel in
Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan,
Gilgit. With a Map and 54 Illus-
trations*... .. 3 6

LEES (J. A.) and CLUTTER-

BUCK (W. J.).

*B.C. 1887, A Ramble in British
Columbia. With Maps and 75
Illustrations*... .. 3 6

NANSEN (F.).

*The First Crossing of Green-
land. With 142 Illustrations and
a Map*... .. 3 6

STEPHEN (LESLIE).

*The Play-Ground of Europe
(The Alps). With 1 Illustrations...* 3 6

MENTAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

BAGEHOT (W.).

Economic Studies... .. 3 6

MACLEOD (H. D.).

Elements of Banking... .. 3 6

MILL (J. S.).

Political Economy... .. 3 6

System of Logic... .. 3 6

MISCELLANEOUS.

BAGEHOT (W.). *s. d.*

Literary Studies. With Portrait.
3 vols. each 3 6

BARING-GOULD (Rev. S.).

*Curious Myths of the Middle
Ages*... .. 3 6

*Origin and Development of
Religious Belief. 2 vols. each* 3 6

BECKER (W. A.).

*Charicles; or, Illustrations of the
Private Life of the Ancient Greeks.*
With 76 Illustrations... .. 3 6

*Gallus; or, Roman Scenes in the
Time of Augustus. With 26 Illus.* 3 6

CHURCHILL (W. SPENCER).

*The Story of the Malakand
Field Force, 1897. With 6
Maps and Plans*... .. 3 6

CONYBEARE (Rev. W. J.) and

HOWSON (Very Rev. J. S.).

Life and Epistles of St. Paul.
With 46 Illustrations... .. 3 6

JEFFERIES (R.).

*Field and Hedgerow. With
Portrait*... .. 3 6

Red Deer. With 17 Illustrations... 3 6

*The Story of my Heart: My
Autobiography. With Portrait*... 3 6

*The Tillers of the Field. With
Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury
Cathedral*... .. 3 6

*Wood Magic: a Fable. With
Frontispiece and Vignette by
E. V. R.*... .. 3 6

LANG (A.).

Angling Sketches. With 20 Illus. 3 6

Cock Lane and Common-Sense 3 6

*Custom and Myth. Studies of
Early Usage and Belief*... .. 3 6

Myth, Ritual and Religion.
2 vols. 7 0

MILNER (GEORGE).

*Country Pleasures: the Chronicle
of a Year chiefly in a Garden*... 3 6

ROSSETTI (MARIA F.).

A Shadow of Dante... .. 3 6

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE SILVER LIBRARY.

'If my advice were asked as to what series of modern books would form the best nucleus of a good and inexpensive library, I think I should, without hesitation, recommend Messrs. Longmans' "Silver Library." Many of the most notably good books published in recent years are included in the series. They are strongly and elegantly bound, and they cost only 3s. 6d. each.'—DAILY MAIL.

HISTORY.

- FROUDE (J. A.).** *s. d.*
The Council of Trent ... 3 6
The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon ... 3 6
The English in Ireland. 3 vols. 10 6
The History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. 12 vols. each 3 6
The Spanish Story of the Armada, and other Essays ... 3 6
Short Studies on Great Subjects. 4 vols. ... each 3 6
- GREVILLE (C. C. F.).**
Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria. 8 vols. ... each 3 6
- KAYE (Sir J.) & MALLESON (Colonel).**
History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. 6 vols. ... each 3 6
- MACAULAY (Lord).**
Complete Works. 'Albany' Edition. With 12 Portraits. 12 vols. each 3 6
Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome, &c. With Portrait and 4 Illustrations to the Lays ... 3 6
- MERIVALE (Dean).**
History of the Romans under the Empire. 8 vols. ... each 3 6
- SMITH (R. BOSWORTH).**
Carthage and the Carthaginians. With Maps, Plans, &c. 3 6

POPULAR SCIENCE.

- HELMHOLTZ (HERMANN von).**
Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects. With 68 Illustrations. 2 vols. ... each 3 6
- CONTENTS:—Vol. I.** The Relation of Natural Science to Science in General—Goethe's Scientific Researches—The Physiological Causes of Harmony in Music—Ice and Glaciers—The Interaction of the Natural Forces—The Recent Progress of the Theory of Vision—The Conservation of Force—The Aim and Progress of Physical Science.
- CONTENTS:—Vol. II.** Gustav Magnus. In Memoriam—The Origin and Significance of Geometrical Axioms—The Relation of Optics to Painting—The Origin of the Planetary System—Thought in Medicine—Academic Freedom in German Universities—Hermann von Helmholtz: an Autobiographical Sketch.

POPULAR SCIENCE.

- CLODD (E.).** *s. d.*
Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution. With 77 Illustrations ... 3 6
- PROCTOR (R. A.).**
Leisure Readings. By R. A. PROCTOR, EDWARD CLODD, ANDREW WILSON, THOMAS FORBES, and A. C. RANYARD. With Illustrations ... 3 6
Light Science for Leisure Hours. *First Series* ... 3 6
Myths and Marvels of Astronomy ... 3 6
Nature Studies ... 3 6
Other Suns than Ours ... 3 6
Other Worlds than Ours ... 3 6
Our Place among Infinities: a Series of Essays contrasting our Little Abode in Space and Time with the Infinities around us ... 3 6
Pleasant Ways in Science ... 3 6
Rough Ways made Smooth ... 3 6
The Expanse of Heaven ... 3 6
The Moon ... 3 6
The Orbs Around Us ... 3 6
- STANLEY (Bishop).**
Familiar History of Birds. With 160 Illustrations ... 3 6
- WOOD (Rev. J. G.).**
Out of Doors. With 11 Illustrations 3 6
Petland Revisited. With 33 Illus. 3 6
Strange Dwellings. With 60 Illus. 3 6

TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE.

- ARNOLD (Sir EDWIN).**
Seas and Lands. With 17 Illus. ... 3 6
- BAKER (Sir S. W.).**
Eight Years in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations ... 3 6
Rifle and Hound in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations ... 3 6
- BENT (J. T.).**
The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland. With 117 Illustrations ... 3 6
- BRASSEY (Lady).**
A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam.' With 66 Illustrations ... 3 6

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

THE MOST NUTRITIOUS COCOA
EPPS'S Breakfast and
 Supper.
GRATEFUL—COMFORTING.
 Boiling Water
 or Milk. **COCOA**
WITH NATURAL FLAVOUR ONLY.

DINNEFORD'S
MAGNESIA.

A pure Solution.
 For Acidity of the Stomach.
 For Heartburn and Headache.
 For Gout and Indigestion.
 Safest Aperient for delicate
 Constitutions, Ladies, Children, and Infants.

SOLD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

The Spectator.

A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology and Art.

Established 1824.

Every Saturday, Price 6d.; by Post, 6½d.

As the *Spectator* is edited by its Proprietor, the paper is exempted from many influences which press severely on the independence of journalism. Its conductors make it their chief object to say out what they believe to be truth in theology, politics, and social questions, irrespective not only of opposition from without, but of the opinion of their own supporters.

The journal commands the best sources of information, and has repeatedly during the past year been the first to make the true bearing of events apparent to its readers. Its object, however, is not so much to supply news as to express the feeling of the educated classes on the news, and correct that vagueness and bewilderment of thought which the constant receipt of news in little morsels has such a tendency to produce.

Original papers supply comments critical and explanatory on Public Events, Political Appointments, Law Amendment, Commercial Affairs, Personal Incidents, and Theological Controversies.

'SPECTATOR,' Limited, 1 Wellington Street Strand, London, W.C.

On Sale at all Book-ellers, News-vendors, and Bookstalls.

BY LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S., F.R.C.P.

*Emeritus Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in King's College, London,
 Consulting Physician to the Hospital.*

VITALITY: an Appeal, an Apology, and a Challenge. Free by post, 6d.

VITALITY - - REPLIES TO OBJECTIONS. Free by post, 3d.

FOURTH EDITION. 5s.

SLIGHT AILMENTS; and on Treating Disease.

THE LIVER. Pp. 230. 86 Illustrations, many Coloured. 5s.

OUR MORALITY AND THE MORAL QUESTION. Second Edit., 3s. 6d.

London: J. & A. CHURCHILL.

FOURTH EDITION. 5s.

PROTOPLASM: Physical Life and Law, or Nature as Viewed from Within. Facts and Arguments against Mechanical Views of Life as accepted by Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Strauss, Tyndall, and many others.

FIFTH EDITION. Enlarged to 876 Pages and 100 Plates. 21s.

HOW TO WORK WITH THE MICROSCOPE: a Manual of Microscopical Manipulation, from the very Rudiments to the Use of the Highest Powers.

HARRISON & SONS, PAUL MALL.

39 Paternoster Row, E.C.
LONDON, April 17, 1899.

MESSRS. LONGMANS & CO.'S
QUARTERLY LIST.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

J. W. Mackail, M.A.
The Life of William Morris.

By J. W. MACKAIL, M.A. Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. With 6 Portraits and 15 Illustrations by E. H. NEW, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s. [Nearly ready.]

George Macaulay Trevelyan, B.A.
England in the Age of Wycliffe.

By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, B.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With 3 Maps. 8vo. 15s. [Ready.]

‘This book cannot but take rank as a leading authority in its own subject, and one of the most important among recent contributions to English historical literature.’

SCOTSMAN.

‘It really does add substantially to the student's knowledge of the

period covered. As such it deserves and will receive both attention and praise. It is written in an admirably lucid and pleasant style, recalling that of the author's famous great-uncle, some portion of whose mantle would seem to have fallen upon him.’—GLOBE.

Rev. R. W. Hiley, D.D.
Memories of Half a Century.

By the Rev. R. W. HILEY, D.D. Wighill Vicarage, Tadcaster. With Portrait. 8vo. [In the press.]

The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth,
D.D. D.C.L. Bishop of St. Andrews. By the Right Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D. Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With Portraits. 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

The Lord Bishop of London.
Queen Elizabeth.

By the Right Hon. and Right Rev. MANDELL CREIGHTON,
D.D. Lord Bishop of London. New and Cheaper Edition.
With Portrait. Crown 8vo. 6s. [In the press.

* * This is a reprint of the letterpress of the volume on 'Queen Elizabeth' in the ENGLISH HISTORICAL SERIES, recently issued with numerous illustrations by Messrs. Goupil & Co.

Emily J. Climenson.

Passages from the Diaries of Mrs.
Philip Lybbe Powys, of Hardwick House, Oxon. 1756–
1808. Edited by EMILY J. CLIMENSON. With 2 Pedigrees
(Lybbe and Powys) and Photogravure Portrait. Medium
8vo. [In the press.

Lord de Tabley.

The Flora of Cheshire.

By the late LORD DE TABLEY (Hon. J. B. LEICESTER
WARREN, M.A.) Edited by SPENCER MOORE. With a
Biographical Notice of the Author by Sir MOUNTSTUART
E. GRANT-DUFF. With a Map of Cheshire and a Photo-
gravure Portrait. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. net. [Nearly ready.

Rose G. Kingsley.

A History of French Art, 1100–1899.

By ROSE G. KINGSLEY, Officier de l'Instruction Publique.
8vo. 12s. 6d. net. [Ready.

Horace G. Hutchinson.

The Book of Golf and Golfers.

By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. With Contributions by
Miss AMY PASCOE, H. H. HILTON, J. H. TAYLOR, H. J.
WHIGHAM, and Messrs. SUTTON & SONS. With 77 Por-
traits, &c. Medium 8vo, 18s. net. [Nearly ready.

Rev. A. Theodore Wirgman, D.D.

The Constitutional Authority of Bishops

in the Catholic Church. Illustrated by the History and Canon Law of the Undivided Church from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. By the Rev. A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, D.D. D.C.L. late Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Provost of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth. Crown 8vo. 6s.

[*Ready.*]

Mrs. G. J. Romanes.

Thoughts on the Collects for the Trinity

Season. By ETHEL ROMANES, Author of 'The Life and Letters of George John Romanes,' 'The Hallowing of Sorrow.' With a Preface by the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF STEPNEY.

[*Nearly ready.*]

Rev. Luke Rivington, D.D.

The Roman Primacy, A.D. 430-451.

By the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON, D.D. Magdalen College, Oxford. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

[*In the press.*]

Abbé Constant Fouard.

The Last Years of St. Paul.

By ABBÉ CONSTANT FOUARD. Translated by the Rev. GEORGE F. X. GRIFFITH.

[*In the press.*]

Monseigneur Bougaud.

History of St. Vincent De Paul, Founder

of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians), and of the Sisters of Charity. By Monseigneur BOUGAUD, Bishop of Laval. Translated from the Second French Edition by the Rev. JOSEPH BRADY, C.M. With an Introduction by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. 2 vols. 8vo.

[*In the press.*]

Rev. C. Bigg, D.D.

Unity in Diversity: Five Addresses

delivered in the Cathedral Church of Christ, Oxford, during Lent 1899, with Introduction. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D. Rector of Fenny Compton, formerly Senior Student and Tutor of Christ Church. *[In the press.]*

Rev. S. A. Alexander, M.A.

The Christianity of St. Paul.

By S. A. ALEXANDER, M.A. Reader of the Temple Church, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Hereford. *[In the press.]*

Rev. Robert Linklater, D.D.

True Limits of Ritual in the Church.

Edited by Rev. ROBERT LINKLATER, D.D. Vicar of Stroud Green. Crown 8vo. 5s. *[Nearly ready.]*

CONTENTS.—Preface, by the Rev. ROBERT LINKLATER, D.D.—Introductory Essay, by the Rev. ROBERT LINKLATER, D.D.—The Ornaments Rubric, by J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, V.P.S.A.—The Catholic Principle of Conformity in Divine Worship, by the Rev. C. F. G. TURNER—A Plea for Reasonableness, by the Rev. JOHN WYLDRE—Intelligible Ritual, by the Rev. HENRY ARNOTT—The English Liturgy, by the Rev. T. A. LACEY—Eucharistic Ritual, by the Rev. W. F. COBB, D.D.—Suggestions for a Basis of Agreement in Matters Liturgical and Ceremonial, by the Rev. H. E. HALL.

Rev. Cresswell Strange, M.A.

Instructions on the Revelation of St.

John the Divine: being an attempt to make this book more intelligible to the ordinary reader and so to encourage the study of it. By Rev. CRESSWELL STRANGE, M.A. Vicar of Edgbaston, and Honorary Canon of Worcester. *[Nearly ready.]*

W. A. Shaw.

The Church Under the Commonwealth. By W. A. SHAW. *[In the press.]*

NEW BOOK BY DEAN FARRAR.

Texts Explained; or, Helps to Under-
stand the New Testament. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D.
F.R.S. Dean of Canterbury, and Deputy Clerk of the
Closet to the Queen. Crown 8vo, [*Nearly ready.*

NEW BOOK BY CANON MACCOLL.

The Reformation Settlement: Examined
in the Light of History and Law. With an Introductory
Letter to the Right Hon. Sir W. V. HARCOURT, M.P. By
the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, D.D. Canon Residentiary
of Ripon. Crown 8vo, [*In the press.*

Marriage Addresses.

By the BISHOP OF LONDON, the BISHOP OF TRURO, the
DEAN OF ROCHESTER, the DEAN OF NORWICH, CANON
NEWBOLT, CANON BODDY, &c. Edited by the Rev.
OSWALD PRYOR WARDELL-YERBURGH, M.A. Rector of
Christ Church, St. Marylebone, [*In the press.*

By G. Washington Moon.

Elijah the Prophet, and other Sacred
Poems. By G. WASHINGTON MOON, Hon. F.R.S.L.
Fifth Edition, with additional Poems. 16mo. 2s. 6d.
[*In the press.*

Poems of Love and Home, &c.

By GEORGE WASHINGTON MOON, Hon. F.R.S.L. Author
of 'Elijah' &c. 16mo. 2s. 6d. [*In the press.*

Right Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee.

New Testament Churchmanship.

By the Right Rev. HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D.D. Bishop of Washington. [In the press.

Andrew Lang.

Myth, Ritual, and Religion.

By ANDREW LANG. New Edition, Revised and re-set for the SILVER LIBRARY. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 7s.

[Ready.

* The original edition of 'Myth, Ritual, and Religion,' published in 1887, has long been out of print. In revising the book Mr. LANG has brought it into line with the ideas expressed in the second part of his 'Making of Religion' (1898), and has excised certain passages which, as the book first appeared, were inconsistent with its main thesis. In some cases the original passages are retained in notes, to show the nature of the development of the author's opinions. A fragment or two of controversy has been deleted, and Chapters XI. and XII., on the religion of the lowest races, have been entirely rewritten on the strength of more recent or earlier information lately acquired.

Abbé Marcel Hébert.

Plato and Darwin: a Philosophic Dialogue.

By the ABBÉ MARCEL HÉBERT, Headmaster of the École Fénelon, Paris; Author of 'Le Sentiment Religieux dans l'œuvre de Richard Wagner' and other Works. Translated, with an Introduction, by the Hon. WILLIAM GIBSON, Author of 'The Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France.' 2s.

[Nearly ready.

Fritz Hoenig.

Inquiries concerning the Tactics of the

Future. Fourth Edition, 1894, of the 'Two Brigades.' By FRITZ HOENIG. With 1 Sketch in the Text and 3 Sketch-Maps. Translated by Captain H. M. BOWER, 3rd Battalion the York and Lancaster Regiment. With 2 additional Maps. 8vo. 15s. net.

[Ready.

P. A. Barnett, M.A.

Common Sense in Education.

By P. A. BARNETT, M.A. H.M. Assistant Inspector of Training Colleges and Examiner in Practical Teaching for the Cambridge Training Syndicate; formerly Principal of the Isleworth Training College for Schoolmasters.

[In the press.]

This volume is based on a systematic course of lectures on the Practice of Education, which was delivered to Teachers at the College of Preceptors during the last term of 1898. The lectures have been re-written and enlarged, and additional matter treated, so as to form a complete introduction to the study of current problems of teaching and school practice. Such points of general theory are discussed as determine organisation, curriculum, and school-room procedure. The subject of education is treated under the following general heads:—(1) Lessons from the History of Education; Warnings from Demonstrated Errors. (2) The Physical Basis of Education, and the Hygiene of Learning. (3) The General Discipline of Character. (4) Discipline in Instruction. (5) Curricula (6) Audible Speech; the Native and Foreign Languages. (7) Literature. (8) Science and Mathematics. (9) History and Geography. (10) The 'Classical' Languages. (11) Special Studies and Examinations. (12) The Making of the Teacher.

John Goodman.

Mechanics applied to Engineering.

By JOHN GOODMAN, M.Inst.Mech.E. Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.
Professor of Engineering in the Yorkshire College, Leeds.

[In the press.]

William A. Tilden, D.Sc. Lond.

A Short History of the Progress of

Scientific Chemistry in Our Own Times. By WILLIAM A. TILDEN, D.Sc.Lond. D.Sc.Dub. F.R.S. Fellow of the University of London, Professor of Chemistry in the Royal College of Science, London.

[In the press.]

Charles W. Colby, M.A.

Selections from the Sources of English

History: being a Supplement to Text-books of English History, B.C. 55–A.D. 1832. Arranged and Edited by CHARLES W. COLBY, M.A. Ph.D. Professor of History in McGill University. Crown 8vo. 6s.

[Ready.]

W. Watson Cheyne, M.B. Edin. and

F. F. Burghard, M.D. F.R.C.S.

A Manual of Surgical Treatment.

By W. WATSON CHEYNE, M.B. F.R.C.S. F.R.S. Professor of Surgery in King's College, London; Surgeon to King's College Hospital, &c.; and F. F. BURGHARD, M.D. and M.S. F.R.C.S. Teacher of Practical Surgery in King's College, London; Surgeon to King's College Hospital (Lond.), &c. To be published in Six Parts.

Part I. The Treatment of General Surgical Diseases, including Inflammation, Suppuration, Ulceration, Gangrene, Wounds and their Complications, Infective Diseases and Tumours; the Administration of Anæsthetics. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d.

[*On May 17.*]

The Annual Register: a Review of

Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1898.
8vo. 18s.

[*Nearly ready.*]

* * Volumes of the ANNUAL REGISTER for the years 1863-1897 can still be had, price 18s. each.

'As a record of the political history of the previous twelvemonth | the *Register* remains without a rival among English year-books.'

GUARDIAN,

STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Issued under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Local Variations of Rates of Wages.

By F. W. LAWRENCE, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.
Medium 4to. 8s. 6d.

[*Shortly,*]

Mrs. Wilfrid Ward.

One Poor Scruple: a Novel.

By Mrs. WILFRID WARD. Crown 8vo. 6s. [Ready.

‘We have to thank Mrs. WARD for a singularly interesting and stimulating novel, in which, though the Roman Catholic standpoint of the author is never concealed, anything savouring of aggressiveness or proselytism is scrupulously avoided. . . . The scenery and surroundings of the plot are admirably chosen to bring the leading personages into strong relief.’—SPFCTATOR.

‘Mrs. WILFRID WARD is in a position to write of Roman Catholic society from the inside, and she has done so in a remarkable novel with a candour that will render her work attractive to thoughtful persons beyond the pale. . . . The book is excellently written and every character is well drawn. Notable too is its absolute fairness, which leaves the reader to weigh the heroine’s scruple for himself, aided but not biassed by the author.’—SATURDAY REVIEW.

Archibald Birt.

Castle Czvargas: a Romance. Being a Plain Story of the Romantic Adventures of Two Brothers, Told by the Younger of Them. Edited by ARCHIBALD BIRT. Crown 8vo. 6s. [Nearly ready.

W. Stebbing.

Probable Tales.

Edited by W. STEBBING. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. [Ready.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

NEW BOOK BY SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN.

The American Revolution. Part I.

1766-1776. By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart. Author of 'The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay' and 'The Early History of Charles James Fox.' 8vo. 16s.

'Nowhere are the contemporaneous events on both sides of the Atlantic which accelerated the catastrophe more clearly brought out than in this volume. Here and there are brilliant sketches of men and manners, and terse epigrammatic sayings, recalling pages, and these by no means the least effective, of the author's illustrious uncle.'

TIMES.

'The same brilliant style, the same happy wit, the same untiring industry, which rendered the "Early History of Charles James Fox" a very cinematograph of English society, and its principal political figures when FOX first astonished it, have been extended to the soberer and simpler scene of the American Colonies when GEORGE III. provoked the American Revolution.'

DAILY NEWS.

A NEW HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

A History of British India.

By Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I. M.A. LL.D. a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. In Five Volumes. Vol. I. Introductory, to the Overthrow of the English in the Spice Archipelago, 1623. 8vo. 18s.

* *The Second Volume will be published in connection with the Tercentenary of the Founding of the East India Company, in the latter half of 1900.*

'This volume may fairly be regarded as the promise of a peculiarly valuable work.'—SCOTSMAN.

'There is nothing we would willingly spare in this first instalment of a work which promises to be a standard comprehensive history of our Asiatic Empire.'—LITERATURE.

'... This is but to sample a book packed from end to end with various matters of interest, most of which we have not even mentioned, though all are informing and entertaining in a very high degree.'

PALL MALL GAZETTE.

'Sir WILLIAM HUNTER is to be cordially congratulated on the issue of the first of the five volumes in which he proposes to tell afresh the stirring history of British India. . . . The volume is written with masterly literary skill, as well as with historical insight.'—INDIA.

'Every page of the volume speaks of diligent research. Everywhere presides a sober, calm judgment. A fascinating story of prowess and skill. . . . Told with great clearness and vividness, and with a wealth of incident which the adventure-novelist must envy.'—TIMES.

COMPLETION OF THE VERNEY MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of the Verney Family. Compiled from the Letters and Illustrated by the Portraits at Claydon House. Vol. IV. From the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1696. By MARGARET M. VERNEY. With 11 Portraits, and Subject Index to the complete Work. Royal 8vo. 21s.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. H. LECKY.

Democracy and Liberty.

New and Cheaper Edition, with New Introduction. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.

* * *The Introduction to this Edition, containing Mr. Lecky's appreciation of the work and character of Mr. Gladstone, is issued in a separate form, 8vo. price TWO SHILLINGS.*

NEW AND CHEAPER RE-ISSUES.

History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.

History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.

THE LIFE OF THE EDITOR OF 'THE GOLDEN TREASURY.'

Francis Turner Palgrave: his Journals and Memories of his Life. By GWENLLIAN F. PALGRAVE. With Portrait and Illustration. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

'Miss GWENLLIAN PALGRAVE has acquitted herself well.'

SATURDAY REVIEW.

'Full of interest from the first page to the last, not so much on account of PALGRAVE'S own position in the world of letters—though it was a highly distinguished one—as for its great variety of references to the leading men of the day and to their opinions on questions of art, literature, and religion.'

STANDARD.

'Miss GWENLLIAN F. PALGRAVE has performed her labour of love

with excellent judgment and the supreme good taste which one would expect to find in the daughter of so cultured and restrained a critic. There is not a word too much. The bulk of the book is made up of the letters which the professor wrote to his friends, of their letters to him, and extracts from his journal. His biographer supplies the connecting links, and weaves the story into a complete and well-rounded whole.

... 'The book is full of good things.'

DAILY TELEGRAPH.

A. H. Beesly.

Life of Danton.

By A. H. BEESLY. With Portraits of Danton, his Mother, home of his family at Arcis.

8vo. 12s. 6d.

'Here, at any rate, the best that can be said for DANTON is said and said persuasively.'—GLOBE.

'We are in Mr. BEESLY's debt for a really conscientious example of historical biography.'

LITERARY WORLD.

'These pages trace with great acuteness DANTON'S short, stormy career; and though they show that his attitude was often theatrical, they make it plain that the man was neither insincere nor a cynic.'

LEEDS MERCURY.

'Mr. BEESLY'S work is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the French Revolution that has yet appeared from an English pen. Without uncritically following the lead of such writers as MM. AULARD, ROBINET, SOREL, BONGEART, and others, he has utilised the vast stores of information rendered available by their labours. The result is a work of independent judgment; at the

same time an absolutely impartial survey of a most complex period.'

DAILY NEWS.

'In every respect this is an excellent work, directed by a wide and exact reading, and by the right sympathies. . . . Instead of being an awful ogre, his hands reddened with human blood, DANTON stands out as a great and representative Frenchman, honest, good-natured, cultivated, wise in policy, practical in aim, a solid Republican citizen with all the strong qualities of a French bourgeois provincial. . . . No statue can be more welcome to DANTON'S admirers, however, than the monument of the truthful biography which showed what manner of man he was, and what he did for France and for the idea of political right which he represented; such a work is the present, and we heartily congratulate Mr. BEESLY on its production.' DAILY CHRONICLE.

Rev. George Congreve.

Christian Life a Response; with other

Retreat Addresses and Sermons. By GEORGE CONGREGVE, Mission Priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley St. John, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5s.

'Multiplied quotations cannot convey the sense of vivifying cheering force to be found in these addresses,

even under the obvious disadvantages of print.'—CHURCH REVIEW,

Memoir of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson,

D.D. Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. Compiled and Edited by W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON. With Portrait and other Illustrations, Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.

Produced under the Editorship of the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A.
Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's ; and the Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN,
M.A. Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

The First Volume is now ready. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Religion.

By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A. Canon and
Chancellor of St. Paul's.

'It is impossible to give within present limits any sufficient sample of the reasoned correctness and cogency, or of the fine literary quality of this work.'

CHURCH REVIEW.

'This work, so earnest throughout, will gratify thoughtful readers who rejoice to see the truths of Christianity presented in a forcible yet attractive manner.'

WESTERN DAILY PRESS (Bristol).

'The idea is worked out with a simple lucidity which makes the book comparatively easy reading. This does not, however, prevent the author impressing his teaching upon us at some points with tremendous force, as witness the chapter on "The Obstacles to Religion."

NATIONAL CHURCH.

'The "Oxford Library of Practical Theology" makes a good beginning with Canon NEWBOLT'S volume on religion. . . . The publishers have been fortunate in securing as editors two such theologians as Canon NEWBOLT and Mr. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, of the Pusey House ; and they have spared no pains in making the appearance of the volumes as attractive as possible. The binding, type, and general "get up" of the specimen just issued leave nothing to be desired. . . . We shall look with much interest for the subsequent volumes of this series, since, if only the good beginning that has been made is kept up, we shall find in them an addition to our theological literature that will prove of lasting value.'—GUARDIAN.

Viscount Halifax.

The Rights of the Church of England

Under the Reformation Settlement: a Letter to the
Bishop of Winchester. By VISCOUNT HALIFAX. 8vo.
sewed, 1s. net.

Augusta Theodosia Drane.

The History of St. Catherine of Siena

and her Companions ; with a Translation of her Treatise
on Consummate Perfection. By AUGUSTA THEODOSIA
DRANE, Author of 'The History of St. Dominic' &c.
Third Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 15s.

Rev. Canon Randolph, M.A.

Meditations on the Old Testament for

Every Day in the Year. By the Rev. B. W. RANDOLPH, M.A. Principal of the Theological College; Hon. Canon of Ely; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Crown 8vo. 6s.

'We can recommend unreservedly these meditations to all Christians who read the Bible "as daily food for the soul." It is altogether a most inviting and encouraging book.'

CHURCH TIMES.

'Canon RANDOLPH has supplied a real want, and this volume of meditations should, and we predict that it will, find an ever-growing welcome among Church people as it becomes more widely known.'

CHURCH BELLS.

'No one can use this volume

honestly without learning more of the temper and teaching of the Bible, and that through a portion of it which the recent developments of criticism have unfortunately tended to disparage. There is a freshness about the whole plan of the book which makes it especially valuable for those who have grown a little impatient of more familiar lines of meditation, and will, consequently, welcome what is in some degree a new departure in devotional literature.'—GUARDIAN.

Rev. John Henry Blunt, D.D.

The Book of Church Law: being an

Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Parochial Clergy and the Laity of the Church of England.

By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, D.D. Revised by the Hon. Sir WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, Bart. D.C.L. one of the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice; and G. EDWARDES JONES, Barrister-at-Law. Eighth Edition. Thoroughly Revised and Corrected. Crown 8vo. 9s.

, The Principal Additions to the Eighth Edition are as follows:—

ACT OF UNIFORMITY AMENDMENT ACT, 1872; GLEBE LANDS ACT, 1888 (SALE OF); SALE OF GLEBE LAND RULES, 1897; BENEFICES ACT, 1898; ECCLESIASTICAL FEES—Order of the Privy Council made the 10th day of Dec., 1895, approving Table of Ecclesiastical Fees and Payments.

'We know no work of similar bulk where the position of the Church of England and the legal

rights and duties of her clergy and laity are so clearly expounded.'

SATURDAY REVIEW.

Gertrude Jekyll.

Wood and Garden : Notes and Thoughts,

Practical and Critical, of a Working Amateur. By GERTRUDE JEKYLL. With 71 Illustrations from Photographs by the Author. THIRD EDITION. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

'Will take its place as a classic when most of the rubbishy books beloved of the thoughtless public will be forgotten. It is the record of the author's own experience in Surrey. It is the reflex of the writer's intelligence and taste.'

ATHENÆUM.

'The photographic illustrations of what Miss JEKYLL has accomplished in her own pleasure will make every one who reads her book instantly long to taste the delights of making unto themselves such a

paradise of flowers and trees as she has created.'—*World.*

'A beautiful book. A book worthy of the garden among the Surrey hills, which those who have seen it declare to be a paradise indeed. Many an English garden will take colour from these pages. Many an English gardener, too, gifted perhaps with highly-trained artistic senses, and with a pure and ardent love for what is true and beautiful, will they set a-thinking of Aladdin's lamp or the purse of Fortunatus.'

DAILY NEWS.

Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A.

The Spirit of Watchfulness, and other

Sermons. By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Jacques Benigne Bossuet.

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin : being

the Substance of all the Sermons for Mary's Feasts throughout the Year. By JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET, Bishop of Meaux. Condensed, Arranged, and Translated by F. M. CAPES. With an Introduction by the Rev. WILLIAM T. GORDON, Priest of the London Oratory; Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

William Morris.

Art and the Beauty of the Earth : a

Lecture delivered by William Morris, at Burslem Town Hall, on October 13, 1881. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. (*Printed at the Chiswick Press, with the Golden Type designed by William Morris for the Kelmscott Press.*)

THE BADMINTON LIBRARY.

Edited by His Grace the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G. and A. E. T. WATSON.

FOUR NEW EDITIONS.

Athletics.

By MONTAGUE SHEARMAN. With Chapters on *ATHLETICS AT SCHOOL*, by W. BEACH THOMAS ; *ATHLETIC SPORTS IN AMERICA*, by C. H. SHERRILL ; a *CONTRIBUTION ON PAPER-CHASING*, by W. RYE ; and an *INTRODUCTION* by Sir RICHARD WEBSTER, Q.C. M.P. With 12 Plates and 37 Illustrations in the Text. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Coursing and Falconry.

COURSING. By HARDING COX. Thoroughly Revised by CHARLES RICHARDSON.—*FALCONRY*. By the Hon. GERALD LASCELLES. With 20 Plates and 56 Illustrations in the Text. New Edition, Revised, and with Additions to '*Coursing*.' Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Football.

HISTORY. By MONTAGUE SHEARMAN.—*THE ASSOCIATION GAME*. By W. J. OAKLEY and G. O. SMITH. *THE RUGBY UNION GAME*. By FRANK MITCHELL. With other Contributions by R. F. MACNAGHTEN, M. C. KEMP, J. E. VINCENT, WALTER CAMP, and A. SUTHERLAND. With 19 Plates and 35 Illustrations in the Text, nearly all of which are new. New Edition, largely Re-written. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Riding and Polo.

RIDING. By Captain ROBERT WEIR, Riding Master, R.H.G.—*POLO*. By J. MORAY BROWN. Revised and partly Re-written by T. F. DALE. With Contributions by His Grace the DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G. the EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, the EARL OF ONSLOW, G.C.M.G. E. L. ANDERSON, and ALFRED E. T. WATSON. With 25 Plates and 37 Illustrations in the Text. Fourth Edition, Revised, and with '*Polo*' partly Re-written. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

WORKS BY THE

RIGHT HON. PROF. F. MAX MÜLLER.

Deutsche Liebe (German Love): Fragments from the Papers of an Alien. Translated from the German by G. A. M. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

'It is a beautiful example of tender, simple writing about love in its purest form.'—SHEFFIELD DAILY INDEPENDENT.

Ramakrishna: his Life and Sayings.

Crown 8vo. 5s.

'*Ramakrishna* (1833-1886) was one of those Indian ascetics and sages who are known under different names, as Sannyāsins, Mahātmas, or Yogins.

'The book gives a useful view of seeking some common ground between Hinduism to all who mean to be | between the religions of the East and missionaries, and to any who are | the West.'—GLASGOW HERALD.

Messrs. Longmans & Co. are now issuing a Collected Edition of the Works of the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller. The volumes are published at a uniform price of 5s. each, in crown 8vo

NATURAL RELIGION: the Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1888.

PHYSICAL RELIGION: the Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1890.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RELIGION: the Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891.

THEOSOPHY; or, Psychological Religion: the Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892.

BIOGRAPHIES OF WORDS, and THE HOME OF THE ARYAS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. Four Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1870.

CHIPS FROM A GERMAN WORKSHOP.

Vol. I. RECENT ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES.

Vol. II. BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS.

Vol. III. ESSAYS ON LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Vol. IV. ESSAYS ON MYTHOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION, as Illustrated by the Religions of India. The Hibbert Lectures, delivered at the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, in 1878.

THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE. Founded on Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863. 2 vols.

INDIA: What can it Teach us?

NEW BOOK BY PROFESSOR LEWIS CAMPBELL.
Religion in Greek Literature.

By the Rev. LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A. I.L.D. Emeritus
Professor of Greek, University of St. Andrews. 8vo. 15s.

‘Professor LEWIS CAMPBELL’S book is full of learning, with abundant insight into the spirit of Greek literature . . . To much of the vague speculation now afloat about religious “origins” Professor CAMPBELL’S sound and common-sense treatment of Greek religious phenomena supplies a useful antidote.’ *TIMES*.

‘We expect in a work of this nature something of high excel-

lence from the distinguished Greek scholar who is equally at home with PLATO and SOPHOCLES, and we may say at once that we get it. . . . One of the best portions of this work is the excellent analysis of the religious ideas of EURIPIDES, the expression of a deep scepticism which had entered into Greek life. The account of SOCRATES and PLATO is also good.’—*SPECTATOR*.

Arthur Shadwell, M.A.

The London Water Supply.

By ARTHUR SHADWELL, M.A. M.B.Oxon. Member of the
Royal College of Physicians. Crown 8vo. 5s.

‘A book full of facts lucidly and attractively presented. . . . A valuable compendium of information on the subject of which it treats’

LITERATURE.

‘We have read this book with considerable interest, as it tells the story in as interesting a manner as a technical subject will allow; and it should be read by everyone that has a vote to record in the London County Council Election.’

PRACTICAL ENGINEER.

‘But the most valuable part of his book is its controversial side. The whole case for the companies had not previously been stated with anything like the same amount of information or so much vigour of treatment. In the coming discussions on this recurrent question, this volume will supply a most valuable corrective to the persistent misstatements of which there is a constant supply on the “Progressive” side.’

ST. JAMES’S GAZETTE.

Ennis Richmond.

Through Boyhood to Manhood: a Plea
for Ideals. By ENNIS RICHMOND, Author of ‘Boyhood: a Plea for Continuity in Education.’ Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

‘The author evidently knows his subject well, and he has a great deal of very healthy criticism to offer under the three heads of unselfishness, self-control, and purity.’

GLASGOW HERALD.

‘A sensible and earnest little treatise. Valuable to parents and guardians, especially mothers who

are anxious to counteract whatever in the public school system tends to obstruct the religious and moral development of character in their charges. Earnestly written and experienced as it is, it cannot but prove both interesting and useful to those to whom it is addressed.’

SCOTSMAN.

John Beattie Crozier.

My Inner Life: being a Chapter in

Personal Evolution and Autobiography. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER, Author of 'Civilization and Progress &c. 8vo 14s

'This remarkable and profoundly interesting autobiography.'

ABERDEEN DAILY FREE PRESS.

'A striking, noteworthy book, far removed from the ruck of cheap, fugitive reminiscences and recollections. . . . The book has a distinct note of originality; it contains striking thoughts; and it is the work of one who, if he somewhat overrates his achievements in the world of speculation, is likely to exercise, if he does not already exercise, considerable influence.'—TIMES.

'This most alluring book is a metaphysical Pilgrim's Progress of a unique kind, how unique probably Dr. CROZIER himself is not aware. He tells the adventures of a soul

among the philosophies, and it is written with the exciting vividness of a realistic romance; you pass from point to point as you pass from incident to incident in "Robinson Crusoe," or "Gil Blas," or "La vengro," or "Kidnapped." . . . This fascinating piece of autobiography is given us just to show what manner of living, what religious and social tendencies and influences were Dr. CROZIER in early life—it is all by way of preparation for the story of his maturer years. Having a distinct gift of words and a notable narrative power, he has written a most engrossing set of chapters.

ALAN MA

Walter Raymond.

Two Men o' Mendip: a Novel.

By WALTER RAYMOND, Author of 'Gentleman Upcott Daughter' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

'We cannot praise too highly this powerful and original novel. It is the best that Mr. RAYMOND has given us.' BRITISH WEEKLY.

'A story of admirable strength and most interesting local colour. . . . Fastidious readers must make a note of "Two Men o' Mendip."'

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

'The author has made good use of local colour and of the dark episodes in a story which shows no little ability and artistic perception. . . . Patty Winterhead's ill-fated

love for the monk, and the mine which destroyed her father's life, form a moving tale of considerable merit. ALHISTON

'There are no jumpy notes, no strained pathos in this simple story of a father, doomed by the inexorable irony of fate to be the executioner of his dearly loved and only daughter. Set in a serene English landscape, the story marches to its close with all the inevitableness of a Greek tragedy.' SPECTATOR

Una Taylor.

Early Italian Love-Stories.

Taken from the Originals by UNA TAYLOR. With
13 Illustrations by HENRY J. FORD. Crown 4to. 15s. net.

'This sheaf of stories, rich in the old vision and judgment of life and not unmindful of its pageantry, is enhanced by a number of beautiful full-page drawings by Mr. H. J. FORD, which are reminiscent of ROSSETTI, and yet are full of individual, as well as scholarly, appreciation of mediævalism.'

STANDARD.

'The difficult work of translation, and in places of adaptation, has been well done, and the charm of "the love, the joyance, and the gallantry" which roused COLERIDGE from his dreary mood is still potent. . . . Mr. FORD has given us some beautiful illustrations.'

SPECTATOR.

'Miss TAYLOR has proved her fine literary sense and her excellent judgment in the compilation of her delightful "Early Italian Love-Stories." . . . From BOCCACCIO, FIORENTINO, STRAPAROLA, BANNI, and all the other noted writers of "Novelle" of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, she has chosen tales so picturesque in incident, of such straightforward and convincing passion, such wistful beauty of sentiment and circumstance, that you may search the world over for their like. . . . Mr. H. J. FORD has made a series of delightful illustrations for the tales.'

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.

S. Levett-Yeats.

The Heart of Denise, and other Tales. By S. LEVETT-YEATS, Author of 'The Chevalier D'Auriac' &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

'Mr. LEVETT-YEATS writes well, and the "Heart of Denise," the longest story in his volume, is a

romance of bold adventure, full of incident, and skilfully constructed'

CRITIC

Emily E. Reader.

Priestess and Queen: a Tale of the White Race of Mexico. Being the Adventures of Ignigene and her Twenty-six Fair Maidens. By EMILY E. READER. Illustrated by EMILY K. READER. Crown 8vo. 6s.

NEW NOVEL OF AFRICAN LIFE BY
MR. H. RIDER HAGGARD.

Swallow : a Tale of the Great Trek.

By H. RIDER HAGGARD. With 8 Full-page Illustrations
by MAURICE GREIFFENHAGEN. Crown 8vo. 6s.

“Swallow” will take a very high place in African fiction.—CRITIC.

‘The book is full of excitement, surprising adventure, and strong human interest.’—DAILY MAIL.

‘There is not a dull page in the book ; and the climax is capitally worked up to.’—AFRICAN REVIEW.

‘A most exciting series of start-

ling and sensational deeds and incidents, and the interest goes on increasing to the end.’—SCOTSMAN.

‘Mr. RIDER HAGGARD, for purposes of romance, is on his native heath in South Africa. In “Swallow” he has come appreciably near to repeating the success of “King Solomon’s Mines.”’

SATURDAY REVIEW.

Rev. V. de Campigneulles, S.J.

Observations taken at Dumraon, Behar,

India, during the Eclipse of the 22nd January, 1898, by
a Party of Jesuit Fathers of the Western Bengal Mission.

By Rev. V. de Campigneulles, S.J. 4to. 10s. 6d. net.

Edward Lewis Attwood.

Text-book of Theoretical Naval Archi-

tecture : a Manual for Students of Science Classes, and
Draughtsmen Engaged in Shipbuilders’ and Naval Archi-
tects’ Drawing Offices. By EDWARD LEWIS ATTWOOD,
Assistant Constructor, Royal Navy ; Member of the Insti-
tution of Naval Architects ; Lecturer on Naval Architecture
at the West Ham Municipal Technical Institute. With
114 Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Francis A. Tarleton, LL.D.

An Introduction to the Mathematical

Theory of Attraction. By FRANCIS A. TARLETON, LL.D.
Sc.D. Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Natural
Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Crown 8vo.
10s. 6d.

F. Glanville Taylor, M.A.

**An Introduction to the Differential and
Integral Calculus and Differential Equations.** By F.
GLANVILLE TAYLOR, M.A. B.Sc. Mathematical Lecturer
of University College, Nottingham. Crown 8vo. 9s.

William Cawthorne Unwin, F.R.S.

The Testing of Materials of Construction.

A Text-book for the Engineering Laboratory and a Collection of the Results of Experiment. By WM. CAWTHORNE UNWIN, F.R.S. M Inst.C.E. Hon.M.Inst.M.E. Professor of Engineering at the Central Technical College of the City and Guilds of London Institute; formerly Professor of Hydraulic and Mechanical Engineering at the Royal Indian Engineering College. Second Edition. With 5 Plates and 188 Illustrations and Diagrams in the Text. 8vo. 16s. net.

James E. Russell, Ph.D.

**German Higher Schools: the History,
Organisation, and Methods of Secondary Education in
Germany.** By JAMES E. RUSSELL, Ph.D. Dean of
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Crown
8vo. 7s. 6d.

Benjamin Moore, M.A.

Elementary Physiology.

By BENJAMIN MOORE, M.A. late Sharpey Research Scholar, and Assistant Professor of Physiology at University College, London. With 125 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**The Annual Charities Register and
Digest for 1899 :** being a Classified Register of Charities
in or available for the Metropolis. With an Introduction
by C. S. LOCH, Secretary to the Council of the Charity
Organisation Society, London. 8vo. 4s.

**STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL
SCIENCE.**

Issued under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science

The Economic Policy of Colbert.

By A. J. SARGENT, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.
Crown 8vo 2s. 6d.

FOR LONGHAND, SHORTHAND, PEN-AND-INK DRAWING, MUSIC-WRITING,

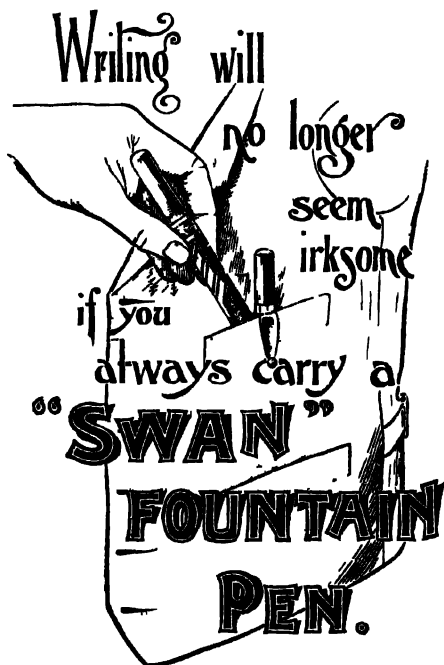
indeed, whenever a Pen is necessary, use only a

'SWAN' FOUNTAIN PEN.

Made in 3 Sizes, at

10/6, 16/6 AND 25/-

each, up to 18 Guineas, post free



Adds immeasurably to Celerity and Comfort in Writing.

Avail yourself of the first opportunity to try a "Swan"

Complete Illustrated Catalogue post free of

MABIE, TODD & BARD,

93 CHEAPSIDE, E.C.,

95a Regent Street, W., LONDON; and 3 Exchange Street, MANCHESTER.

PARIS: Brentano's, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

Nyott & Co Printers, New-street Square, London

CONTENTS of No. 388.

	Page
ART. I.—Sir Robert Peel. From his Private Papers. Edited for his Trustees by Charles Stuart Parker, sometime M.P. for the County and for the City of Perth, and late Fellow of University College, Oxford. With a chapter on his Life and Character by his Grandson, the Hon. George Peel. Vols. ii. and iii. London: 1899,	285
II.—1. Diamonds. Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, Friday, June 11, 1897. By Sir William Crookes, F.R.S.	
2. Papers and Notes on the Genesis and Matrix of the Diamond. By the late Henry Carvill Lewis, M.A. Edited by Professor Bonney, F.R.S. London: 1897.	
3. Les Diamants du Cap. Par L. de Launay. Paris: 1897.	
4. Les Mines de l'Afrique du Sud. Par Albert Bordeaux, Ingénieur Civil des Mines. Paris: 1898.	
5. Le Four Électrique. Par M. Henri Moissan, de l'Institut. Paris: 1897,	316
III.—1. The Final Report of the Royal Commission on Vaccination. Appendix VI.: Dr. Sidney Coupland's 'Report on the Leicester Epidemic, 1892-3.' Appendix VII.: Dr. Sidney Coupland's 'Report on Gloucester Epidemic, 1895-6.'	
2. The Milroy Lectures (1898) on Vaccination: its Natural History and Pathology. By Dr. S. Monckton Copeman. London: 1899,	333
[And other Works.]	
IV.—1. Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore. By Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers. 4 vols. (Printed privately.) 1887-98.	
2. Excavations on the site of the Roman City of Silchester. By G. E. Fox and W. H. Hope. Westminster: 1891-98.	
3. Archæologia Æliana; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1894-98.	
4. Reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committee. Reprinted from the Transactions of the Cumberland Archæological Society. Kendal: 1894-98.	
5. Birrens and its Antiquities. By J. Macdonald and J. Barbour. Dumfries: 1897,	369

- ART. V.—1. Sir Henry Wotton. A Biographical Sketch by Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., Principal of the Owens College at Manchester, Hon. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. London: 1898.
2. Reliquiæ Wottonianæ. London: 1685.
3. Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton, &c., from the originals in the Library of Eton College. Roxburghe Club, London: 1850.
4. Unpublished Papers preserved in the Record Office, . . . 391
- VI.—The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett: 1845–1846. With Portraits and Facsimiles. 2 vols. London: 1899, . . . 420
- VII.—1. A Florentine Picture-Chronicle, being a Series of Ninety-nine Drawings representing Scenes and Personages of Ancient History, Sacred and Profane, by Mæo Finiguerra. Reproduced from the originals in the British Museum by the Imperial Press, Berlin. With a Critical and Descriptive Text by Sidney Colvin, M.A. London: 1898.
2. Publications of the Chalcographical Society. London, Paris, and Berlin: 1886–1895, . . . 410
- VIII.—1. Bulletin du Comité de Madagascar. Paris: 1895–9.
2. Annuaire de Madagascar et Dépendances. Tananarive: 1899.
3. Notes, Reconnaissances et Explorations. Tananarive: 1897–9, . . . 458
- [And other works.]
- IX.—1. Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton, K.G., from hitherto unpublished Documents in the possession of his family. Edited by Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford. 8vo. London: 1898, . . . 489
- X.—1. Notes from a Diary in Asiatic Turkey. By Lord Warkworth, M.P. 1898.
2. Our New Protectorate. By J. McCoan. 1879.
3. Germany's Claims on the Turkish Inheritance. Publications of the Pan-Germanic League. Munich: 1896.
4. Report on Railways in Asiatic Turkey. By Major E. F. G. Law. (Turkey, No. 4: 1896), . . . 515
- XI.—The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846–1891. By R. Barry O'Brien, Barrister-at-law, Author of 'Fifty Years of Concession to Ireland.' 2 vols. London: 1898, . . . 513

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OR
CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
JANUARY, 1899 APRIL, 1899.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUS CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CLXXXIX.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., LONDON.
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY, NEW YORK.

1899.

overseas Netherlands Public Library

Acq. No. 7636 Date 25.7.75

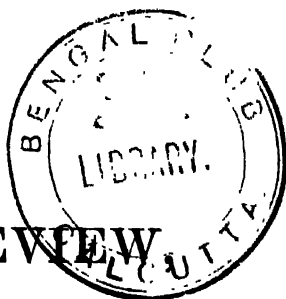
THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW

APRIL, 1899.

No. CCCLXXXVIII.

ART. I.—*Sir Robert Peel.* From his Private Papers. Edited for his Trustees by CHARLES STUART PARKER, sometime M.P. for the County and for the City of Perth, and late Fellow of University College, Oxford. With a chapter on his Life and Character by his Grandson, the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. Vols. ii. and iii. London: 1899.

NEARLY half a century has passed since a lamentable accident brought to a premature close the life and career of the illustrious statesman who is the subject of this article. In the interval, we have been gradually accumulating the means of correctly appreciating his policy and his character. The short Memoirs which he himself prepared for publication, to justify his own conduct in 1829 and 1846, have been amply illustrated by the Diaries of Mr. Greville and the Correspondence of Mr. Croker. The admirable study of the statesman which M. Guizot published in 1856 has been succeeded in our own time by the monographs of Lord Dalling, Mr. Thursfield, and Mr. Justin McCarthy; and, finally, Mr. Parker has completed the task of editing the voluminous correspondence which the statesman left behind him. With these ample materials the British people have, at last, the opportunity of defining the precise place which Sir Robert Peel should occupy in their estimate of the men who have governed England; they can approach the subject free from the passions and prejudices which Peel excited in his lifetime; and they may determine whether Mr. Disraeli was right in saying that Peel was 'the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived;' or whether Mr. Gladstone had grounds for his more generous tribute: 'Taken all round, Peel was the greatest man I ever knew.'



Before, however, attempting to make our own contribution to this estimate, we must discharge a reviewer's task by acknowledging the taste and skill with which Mr. George Peel has composed his biographical chapter on his grandfather, and the modesty, judgement, and accuracy which Mr. Parker has displayed throughout his work. He has selected enough of the important correspondence which has been entrusted to him to fully illustrate the minister's opinions and policy; he has had the good sense to leave the documents, which he publishes, to speak for themselves; and he has merely appended to them sufficient notes or commentaries of his own to make his story connected and intelligible. We have, in fact, only one complaint to make against Mr. Parker. We think that he might have published before 1899 the concluding volumes of a work whose first instalment he gave us in 1891. In an age, however, when accuracy and research are too frequently sacrificed to speed, a good deal may be said for an author who is contented to devote eight years to a task which the modern book-maker would compress into two.

Robert Peel, the son of the first baronet, was born on February 5, 1788. His father, at the time of his birth, is said to have fallen on his knees and vowed in thankfulness that he would 'give his child to his country.' He did, at any rate, his best to make his prayer effectual. Like Lord Chatham, he educated his boy for public life. But while Lord Chatham, in the case of Mr. Pitt, himself directed his son's studies, Sir Robert, perhaps more wisely, preferred to avail himself of the advantages of a great public school and of a great English university. At Harrow the future minister displayed the capacity for taking infinite pains which characterised him throughout his whole career. Lord Byron, who was his contemporary, said of him: 'As a schoolboy out of school, I was always in scrapes, and he never; in school he always knew his lesson and I rarely;' and Mr. Bowen, in his admirable Harrow songs, has preserved the school tradition—

'Peel stood, steadily stood,
Just by the name in the carven wood,
Reading rapidly, all at ease,
Pages out of Demosthenes.'

At Oxford we have his brother's authority for saying that 'he read eighteen hours a day;' and this study was rewarded by a brilliant degree. For, in the autumn of 1808, while he was still under age, he took 'a double first.' The

degree was the more remarkable because the examination had only just been divided into the two schools of classics and mathematics, and Peel was the first Oxford man who obtained a first in each school.

Immersed in the studies which had thus gained him distinction both at Harrow and at Oxford, Peel had necessarily no leisure to examine for himself the great political problems with which it was his lot in later life to grapple. Living at home, at school, and at college in a Conservative atmosphere, he probably accepted his political creed with as little hesitation as he subscribed his name to the Thirty-nine Articles. In 1808, indeed, few men had sufficient courage or independence to adopt other opinions. The events which had succeeded the French Revolution had been too startling and too recent to permit of a dispassionate examination of political problems. Statesmen like Burke and Mackintosh, poets like Wordsworth and Southey, had been frightened by the excesses which had occurred in France into a panic dread of change at home; while the incidents of a great war distracted attention from home politics, and made even Liberals doubt whether the crisis of a supreme struggle was an appropriate moment for domestic reforms.

Birth and training had thus made Peel a Conservative (for the modern name, which the party acquired under his own guidance, expresses the facts more clearly than the older title Tory); the course of events abroad had strengthened his Conservatism; and, when he entered the House of Commons in the spring of 1809, he had never found leisure to examine, with any care, the wisdom or unwisdom of the main articles of the political creed which he had inherited. In the spring of 1810 he was selected to second the Address, and the skill with which he executed this duty procured for him in the following autumn the under-secretaryship of the Colonial Department. This post he exchanged in 1812—on the reconstruction of the ministry under Lord Liverpool—for the more important office of chief secretary of Ireland.

The six years during which Peel occupied the chief secretaryship brought him many anxieties. The chief secretary, in those days, was not merely responsible for the peace of a distracted country; he was also the dispenser of patronage under a corrupt system of government.

‘He was beset with importunities for posts as gaugers, hearth-money collectors, revenue clerks, stamp distributors, &c., not chiefly from the

candidates themselves, but in larger numbers from persons of position and rank, recommending the applicants, either from family reasons, or more frequently to oblige constituents and electioneering agents. Another class of suitors solicited for themselves, or for their relatives and friends, preferment in the Church, livings, deaneries, bishoprics. Others sought the power, or even claimed it as a right, to appoint the sheriff for their respective counties, a matter of great consequence. Others, again, preferred bequests for peerages, for steps in the peerage, or for Government support in the election of representative peers.'

How importunate a suitor could be on such occasions may be inferred from the correspondence between Peel and Mr. Croker, which Mr. Parker published eight years ago in his earlier volume. In contesting Down, in 1812, Mr. Croker incurred 'debts of gratitude, which, as a matter of conscience, for six years he never ceased imploring the Chief Secretary to help him to discharge.'

It is to Peel's credit that he did his best to check this system of corruption, which he evidently both hated and disapproved. It is equally to his credit that he endeavoured to carry on the work of his office without favour and partiality, and that he strove to strengthen and improve the machinery of administration. 'My constant object in Ireland,' so he himself said, 'was a fair administration of the laws as they exist, and I challenge the country to produce any instance in which, while I held office, an impartial administration of those laws was denied.' Ireland owes to him the re-organisation, or rather the creation, of her Constabulary force; it owes also to him the recollection that one great English minister—throughout his six years of office—usually relied on the ordinary law; and that, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in Great Britain in 1817, Peel was able to announce to Parliament that he required no exceptional legislation, but was prepared to reduce the military force.

On one subject, indeed, Peel failed to probe the wound from which Ireland was suffering. The country was torn by faction; Catholics and Orangemen were arrayed against each other; and Peel, whose opposition to Catholic emancipation had already procured him the nickname of 'Orange Peel,' was much more anxious to keep the peace than to devise a remedy for the disease. There is no evidence that, during his years in Ireland, he ever set himself the task of seriously considering whether his whole attitude towards the Catholics was not founded on a faulty basis. Ireland, so he thought, was united by an inviolable compact to Great Britain; it was an essential article of that contract that the

Protestant religion should be the established and favoured religion of the State; and it followed that he could not admit those who were hostile to that religion to the legislature. Thus the mere letter of a so-called agreement prevented him from examining the circumstances in which the Union had been accepted, and of ignoring the intentions of those who had framed it. Many things, no doubt, conspired to strengthen his own convictions. The viceroys, under whom he successively served, the under-secretary, to whom he was warmly attached, were all animated by the same views. His own election for the University of Oxford in 1817, moreover, gave him a new interest in maintaining the Protestant cause, and Peel became the chief spokesman and support of the Protestant party.

If, moreover, throughout his Chief Secretaryship, Peel acted on the unfortunate principle that the Protestant religion should be favoured by the State, he also failed to do anything to remedy the abuses which were destroying the Irish Church. In an article on Mr. Parker's earlier volume eight years ago—an article, we may add, which emanated from the pen of an illustrious historian—we stated that 'one of the fatal blots on Peel's reputation as a statesman' was his refusal to deal with Irish tithes while he held the Chief Secretaryship. The question even then was ripe for settlement. Yet Peel did nothing, either as Chief Secretary or afterwards as Home Secretary, to remedy this great abuse.

In the course of 1818, however, Peel escaped from the anxieties and drudgery of his distasteful office; and he became free—

'free from ten thousand engagements which I cannot fulfil; free from the anxiety of having more to do than it is possible to do well. . . . free from Orangemen; free from Ribbonmen; free from Dennis Browne; free from the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; . . . free from perpetual converse about the Harbour of Howth, Dublin Bay Headlocks; and, lastly, free of the Company of Carvers and Gilders, which I became this day in reward of my public services.'

A man of his ability and position, however, could not hope to be long free. The Government indeed, strangely enough, omitted to provide him with some more acceptable post. But Lord Liverpool prevailed upon him to undertake an even more important duty, the chairmanship of the Currency Committee.

The suspension of cash payments, which had been originally authorised in 1797, had remained almost un-

questioned till 1810. In that year, the famous Bullion Committee reported in favour of their resumption in two years' time. But the circumstances of the country, and the great struggle in which she was engaged, made it difficult for Parliament to carry out the recommendation of the committee; and, instead of doing so, it put off the Reform till after the conclusion of the war. When, however, peace came, a return to cash payments seemed as difficult as ever; and a further respite was given to the bank. In 1818, the gradual increase of prosperity brought the question once more into the range of practical politics; and the Government decided to refer the problem to a fresh committee.

In selecting Peel for the chairmanship of this committee, the Government probably thought that it had done everything in its power to secure due consideration for the advocates of paper money. The elder Sir Robert Peel was well known as a warm advocate of paper; and Peel himself had spoken, and voted with Mr. Vansittart, on the motion for rejecting the advice of the Bullion Committee; Peel, however, appointed to the chair of the committee, set himself to examine the grounds for his opinions.

'With various other documents, I have read the report of the Bullion Committee with the utmost attention—with the same attention with which I would read the proof of a proposition in mathematics. I can find no defect in the argument.'

And Peel accordingly came to the conclusion that cash payments should be resumed. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this decision. Supplemented as it was, a quarter of a century afterwards, by another measure, introduced by Peel with all the authority attaching to a prime minister, it is not too much to say that it regulated and still regulates the conditions on which currency should be issued. Both measures, indeed, were keenly criticised at the time at which they were framed and in later years. But both measures have stood the test of criticism, and have commended themselves more and more to the acceptance of enlightened men. Important, however, as the work was which Peel thus initiated in 1819, and completed in 1844, it has an additional interest from its effect on Peel's career. Peel, for the first time in his life, had deliberately set himself to examine a great and difficult question in all its bearings, and had found that the conclusions which he had inherited upon it would not stand the test of this

examination. Such a result was necessarily attended with far-reaching consequences. Thenceforward Peel was constantly to apply the same process to other subjects; and thenceforward he was almost as constantly to find that the opinions which he had accepted on his entrance on public life would not satisfy his intelligence, and that the conclusions which he had previously regarded as right had to be discarded as wrong.

For some little time, indeed, after the labours of the Currency Committee were terminated, Peel had no occasion for any deep examination of a political problem. Either his own health, or possibly his marriage, which took place in 1820, kept him from any very active participation in the politics of the day; in the early years of the reign of George IV. he twice refused Cabinet office: and it was only in 1822 that he consented to succeed Lord Sidmouth as secretary of state for the Home Department. He brought to the Home Office the industry and the administrative capacity which had already distinguished him in Ireland. It so happened that a great question was ripe for treatment. During the Regency Sir Samuel Romilly had drawn frequent attention to the severity of the criminal code. Opposed by the ministry, the chancellor, the judges, and the Tory party, he had failed to make any impression on a Parliament which hated all reform. After his death Sir James Mackintosh had taken up the subject, and had succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a select committee to consider so much of the criminal law as related to capital punishments. The committee's report led to some slight alterations in the law, and in 1822 Sir James Mackintosh, encouraged by his success, succeeded in carrying a motion pledging the House, early in the following session, to take steps to mitigate the severity of the criminal code. In 1823 he brought forward a resolution with the same object, but he found at once that the reconstruction of the Government had entirely modified the whole aspect of the question. Peel, indeed, refused to accept the resolution which Sir James Mackintosh had proposed, but he offered to introduce Bills to give effect to its principles. In redemption of this offer four measures were rapidly passed abolishing the punishment of death in the case of some hundred felonies. Lord Eldon was still chancellor, but he did not venture to oppose a reform which had been promoted by his own colleague on the authority of the Cabinet; and the criminal code of England—perhaps the most savage in the world—was at once relieved of some of its worst features.

It is only due to Peel to remember that his labours in the cause of criminal reform did not cease after 1823. They bore fruit in 1826 in a further measure of reform. His inquiries, moreover, into the proper manner of punishing crime led him to consider the means which were available for its prevention. The country—as he said to Mr. Hobhouse, who had been his under-secretary—had outgrown its police institutions. The state of the police force in many metropolitan parishes was scandalous. The night watch was in every case inefficient; and in many places there was no night watch at all. Peel gradually substituted for this inefficiency and confusion the admirable police force, which he placed directly under the Home Office, and which still retains much of the organisation which he was the first to introduce. And so closely did his contemporaries identify this force with himself, that the public at once fastened on the men the nicknames which have almost passed into our language, and which are founded on the minister's christian and surnames.

In ascribing to Peel the merit of these great reforms, we do not wish to forget that, much as the country owes to him in this respect, it is equally indebted to another secretary of state, Lord John Russell. If Peel gave us our London police force, Lord John gave us the means of instituting our County Constabulary. If Peel abolished capital punishment for many of the less serious offences, Lord John laboured in the same cause and laid the foundations of a rational system of secondary punishment. We must not be supposed to lose sight of what one man accomplished because we are at the present time chiefly concerned with the achievements of the other.

During the remainder of Lord Liverpool's administration Peel retained the seals of the Home Office. Throughout that time Mr. Canning and he were the foremost exponents of the policy of the Government. But on one important question these two men habitually spoke on opposite sides, and habitually found themselves voting against each other. For the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool had agreed to treat the claims of the Roman Catholics as an open question, and Mr. Canning was the most eloquent advocate of emancipation, while Peel was still the chief prop and mouthpiece of the Tory party in resisting it. During the first Parliament of George IV. opinion in the House of Commons slowly gravitated towards a settlement of the question, and in 1825 a measure of relief actually passed the Commons, and was

only defeated by the Lords. Peel was so discouraged by these circumstances that he tendered his resignation, and was only reluctantly induced to withdraw it on ascertaining that his own retirement would involve that of Lord Liverpool and the downfall of the administration. He consented accordingly to retain office till the forthcoming dissolution enabled him to test the views of a new Parliament on the subject. The result seemed to justify his decision. The general election of 1826 was mainly fought on the Catholic question. It afforded a decisive proof of the dislike which the English people have always felt to make any concessions to Rome; and early in 1827 the House of Commons retraced its steps, and in an unusually large division rejected a motion for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics by a small majority.

The Protestant party was undoubtedly elated at this success. But there were, at the same time, circumstances, both in Ireland and in England, which filled them with anxiety. In Ireland O'Connell had succeeded in organising the Catholic Association. He had skilfully evaded the provisions of an Act of 1825, which had been passed with the object of suppressing it, and he had given an unexpected proof of his power by compelling the electors of Waterford to reject a Beresford; and the Beresfords, up to that time, had disposed of Waterford in the same fashion in which their owners had regulated the representation of Gatton or Old Sarum. In England the Prime Minister had been stricken with the fatal seizure from which he never rallied, and his illness was already precipitating the disruption of the Cabinet. For, while it was obvious that Mr. Canning, already leader of the House of Commons, could hardly consent to serve under Peel, it was daily becoming plainer that Peel, with his pronounced opinions on the Catholic question, could hardly retain office under Mr. Canning. As he put it himself to one of his most intimate friends:—

‘Could I with propriety remain charged with the domestic government of the country, I and the Prime Minister being the two men in England most deeply committed on the opposite sides of the most important of domestic questions?’

Peel's consequent retirement from office gave his more Tory colleagues an excuse for following his example. Mr. Canning, deserted by the Tories, was forced into an alliance with the Whigs, and the Catholic question seemed to be approaching a successful issue, when the Prime Minister, resolved on the emancipation of the Catholics, selected as

his home secretary one of the leading members of the Whig party.*

In politics, however, few things ever happen except the unforeseen. The premature death of Mr. Canning, and the rapid downfall of the Goderich administration, paved the way for the reconstruction of the ministry in 1828 under the Duke of Wellington and Peel. A difference of opinion on a small measure of reform led to the withdrawal of Mr. Canning's friends from the reconstructed ministry, and at last, in the spring of 1828, the Protestants had the satisfaction of seeing a Protestant king supported by a Protestant administration.

Amidst their natural elation at these events the Protestants overlooked two circumstances of the gravest import. A few days before the reconstruction of the ministry the motion for considering the state of the laws affecting Roman Catholics, which had been rejected in the session of 1827 by a majority of four, was carried by a majority of six. The secession of Mr. Canning's friends from the Cabinet led, among other changes, to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald's appointment to the presidency of the Board of Trade. Mr. Fitzgerald happened to represent the Roman Catholic county of Clare, and Mr. O'Connell at once decided on giving the English people a dramatic proof of his power. Disqualified though he was by religion, he appealed to the freeholders of Clare to return him as their member, and the electors, responding to his appeal, compelled Mr. Fitzgerald to withdraw from a hopeless contest.

No single election which has ever taken place in the United Kingdom was attended with more memorable consequences than the return of Mr. O'Connell for Clare in the summer of 1828. It led the way to changes which have affected this country ever since. But it had a still more decisive influence on Peel's career. He retained his old opinion that the admission of the Roman Catholics to Parliament was undesirable. He was able to avow five years afterwards that his 'main object is still the interests of the Church of England,' and he could not believe that the interests of the church would not be affected if men were admitted to Parliament who accepted the supremacy of the Pope. But, on the other hand, he was convinced, almost in

* Lord Lansdowne did not actually receive the seals of the Home Office till July. But his eventual accession to the Home Office was an open secret throughout the summer.

a moment, that the events of the Clare election had made further resistance hopeless. As head of the Home Office, he was responsible for the peace of Ireland, and the peace of Ireland was in peril from the growing power of the Catholic Association. The slight restraint which the Act of 1825 had imposed on its organisers expired with its expiration in 1828. It was not safe, so he thought, to conduct the government of Ireland without repressing the Association; and it was certain that the House of Commons would refuse the ministry the necessary means for repressing it, unless it dealt at the same time with the Catholic question. It was always possible, indeed, for an administration to appeal from the House of Commons to the country. But the Clare election had shown what the consequences of such an appeal would be. The example which had been set at Waterford, the lesson which had been pressed home at Clare, would be followed, it could not be doubted, in every county in Ireland where the Catholics were in a majority, and Ireland would obtain the opportunity of speaking with a voice which it was certain that England could no longer disregard.

Thus the events of a single election convinced Peel, not that the policy which he had hitherto pursued was wrong, but that it was hopeless to persevere in it. Impressed with this conviction, at the close of the session he drew up the remarkable memorandum which he handed to the Prime Minister, in which he declared his opinion 'that there is, upon the whole, less of evil in making a decided effort to settle the Catholic question than in leaving it, as it has been left, an open question;' but in which he added that, while he was ready to support the Government in any effort which it might make to carry 'a measure of ample concession and relief,' he held 'a strong opinion that it would not conduce to the satisfactory adjustment of the question that the charge of it in the House of Commons should be committed' to his hands.

Throughout the autumn of 1828, Peel steadily adhered to the opinion which he had thus formed; but, at the commencement of 1829, he was induced to modify it in one important particular. Retaining his strong conviction that the time for concession had arrived, he gradually came to the conclusion that the opposition of the King, of the Bishops, and of the House of Lords made the difficulties of carrying it almost insuperable. He saw that those difficulties would be inevitably increased by his own resignation, and he

accordingly decided not to insist on his retirement, if the Duke of Wellington considered his continuance in office indispensable. No one can doubt that, in thus modifying his previous decision, Peel was animated by motives of chivalrous loyalty to the Duke. But few people also will doubt that, in consenting to remain in office, he made a fatal mistake. Impressed with the necessity of concession, he overlooked the fact that there was something more important even than concession, and that was his own character as a public man. A statesman, indeed, is just as much entitled to change his opinion as an ordinary citizen. But then a statesman is expected to pay the usual penalty for his change by resigning office. It is not desirable, in the public interests, that the man who has risen to be chief of a great party by the assertion of particular views should retain that position—without the consent of his supporters—when he finds it necessary to abandon the policy which he had previously sustained.

It is the more remarkable that Peel did not see the force of these considerations, because he rightly concluded that he could not retain his seat for the University of Oxford when he had deserted the cause which his constituents had sent him to defend. He resigned his seat, and took refuge in the little borough of Westbury. But he surely ought to have perceived that, if his duty to the University necessitated this course, his duty to his own followers required a similar sacrifice. The duty which the leader of a great party owes to his supporters in Parliament is greater, and not smaller, than the duty which he owes to his own constituents; and a statesman has even less right to throw over his supporters in the House than to break his pledges to those who sent him there.

It is true, indeed, that, if Peel had retired from the ministry, Catholic emancipation might not have been carried in 1829, and confusion in Ireland might have become worse confounded in consequence. But it is not absolutely certain that the Relief Bill would not have passed in 1829; while it is certain that it could not have been long postponed, if Peel's influence in favour of it had been exerted outside, instead of inside, the Cabinet. Much, then, as we regret that a measure of religious liberty should have been so long delayed, and that it should have ultimately been conceded, not to reason, but to agitation, we are disposed to believe that it would have been better for the country—as it would certainly have been better for the

party which Peel led—that the risk of some further delay should have been encountered, than that the measure should have been introduced and carried by the minister who had spent his whole parliamentary life in opposing it.

The passage of the Emancipation Act, it must be recollected, was not merely the turning-point in Peel's career: it marked also a crisis in the history of the country. The irritation which it provoked among the old Tories produced dissensions, which led directly to the fall of the Government in 1830, and to the passage of the Reform Act in 1832. The Whigs might never have obtained the majority which enabled them to acquire power, if many of the older Tories had not been much more anxious to punish the apostasy of Peel than to prevent the formation of a Whig ministry.

Mr. Parker, in one of his excellent notes, has quoted a saying of Mr. Gladstone: 'As there were two Pitts, one before, the other after, the French Revolution; so there were two Peels, one before, the other after, Parliamentary Reform.' No doubt this fact, which we thank Mr. Parker for emphasising, was mainly due to the new conditions which the passage of the Reform Act introduced into politics. But it is worth observing that two events, immediately before the Reform Act, liberated Peel from some of the more Conservative influences by which he had been previously surrounded. For—as we have already seen in 1829 he severed his connexion with Oxford, and in 1830 he lost his father.

We trust that, in laying stress on these incidents, we shall not be thought to infer that Peel, before 1829, suppressed his real opinions from any desire to retain the support of his constituents or to win the approval of his father. His conduct both in 1829 and in 1819 relieves us from the necessity of replying to such a charge. But the views of each of us are insensibly affected by the society in which we live and the atmosphere in which we move. Communicating, throughout their joint lives, on terms of the utmost intimacy with his father, Peel must have been affected by the earnest convictions of the shrewd old man, who had in various ways done so much to promote the minister's fortunes. Again, he would have been hardly human if he had not desired the good opinion of the University, where he had won his first distinction, and which had rewarded him with its confidence. But, after 1830, he was freed from both these influences. He had no

longer to consider whether any particular course which he took might give his old father pain, or whether it would be acceptable or unacceptable to his University friends. We do not say of Peel, as a later statesman said of himself, that he was 'unmuzzled' by his defeat at Oxford. But we do say that thenceforward, instead of resisting reform as equivalent to revolution, he welcomed reform as the best method of resisting revolution. He had the good sense to treat the Reform Act itself as 'a final and irrevocable settlement of a 'great constitutional question,' and in the Tamworth Manifesto, in 1834-5, he declared himself in favour of reforming every institution which really required reform.

His conduct in Parliament fully justified this declaration. He refused in 1835 to support the amendments which Lord Lyndhurst had persuaded the Lords to introduce into the Corporation Bill; he refused in 1837 to commit himself to an uncompromising opposition to the reform of Irish municipalities; he laid the foundations for the reform of the Church of England by the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835, and the Irish Tithe Bill was ultimately settled on the lines which he had himself laid down. He declined, on the one hand, to be swayed from his moderate course by the views of extreme men on his own side of the House. He refused, on the other, to gain any temporary advantage by any sort of arrangement with the extreme men on the other side. His conduct was not always agreeable to his friends and his own colleagues. But it steadily raised his reputation in the House and in the country, so that the man, who in 1833 had been the impotent leader of a discredited party, was everywhere regarded in 1841 as the only possible prime minister. The Duke of Wellington, after the Reform Act, had proposed the historic question, How is the King's Government to be carried on? And Peel, by his conduct, had given a practical answer to the inquiry.

In these years of opposition Peel made few or no mistakes in his conduct towards his opponents; but he made some mistakes in his treatment of his friends. He was too cold to win their love, too reserved to command at all times their confidence. Mr. Parker's pages show conclusively that his relations even with the Duke of Wellington were frequently strained. In 1834 we find Mr. Arbuthnot complaining that the Duke and Peel seldom meet, and that, when they met at his rooms, they did not exchange a single word with one another. Again, in 1840 we find him declaring 'with the 'greatest sorrow that between the Duke and Peel there is

‘now no communication.’ The separation of the two leaders does not seem to have arisen from any difference of opinion, but to have been mainly due to the strange reserve which Peel habitually maintained. Happily, however, in the autumn of 1840 the icy barrier which separated these two great men was thawed by the warmth of their friends; and when the crisis of 1841 arrived the two leaders of the Tory party were in close communication, and in cordial agreement.

When the Whig Ministry finally fell in 1841 it bequeathed a legacy of difficulty, both abroad and at home, to its successors. We cannot in this article attempt to trace the course of events abroad. At home, the country was passing through a period of distress that has probably no parallel in its annals, and this distress had involved a series of deficits in the revenue, which had risen year by year till in 1841-2 the deficiency stood at nearly 2,500,000/.

The Whig Ministry had made several efforts to remedy this state of things. In 1840 the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a futile attempt to meet the deficit by increasing taxation all round. In 1841 he had more wisely endeavoured to overcome the crisis by alterations in the direction of Free-trade. The fall of the Whigs, however, interfered with the adoption of this proposal, and when Peel assumed office in 1841 no remedy had been found either for the distress under which the nation was groaning, or for the recurring deficits which were throwing its finances into confusion.

The remedy which Peel applied to this state of things, and which he devised after an interesting correspondence with his colleagues, was based on the conviction that high duties were making all articles so costly that the consuming classes were unable to purchase them. By reducing duties, by making this country—as he put it to Mr. Croker—‘a cheap country to live in,’ he hoped to increase consumption, and concurrently to benefit the revenue. In no case, indeed, did he part with the policy of Protection, which had commended itself for so many years both to the legislature as a whole, and to his own political friends in particular. Moderate protection he still thought desirable; but duties which were practically prohibitive he rejected as unnecessary. He supplied the cost of these reforms, and of terminating the deficit, by an income tax of 3 per cent., or, more exactly, of sevenpence in the pound.

These proposals did not commend themselves to all of

Peel's colleagues. The Duke of Buckingham retired from the Cabinet—oddly enough accepting the Garter from the minister whom he thus deserted—and Lord Hardwicke from the Government. They were equally distasteful to various parties in the House. The extreme Tories were alarmed at the prospect of a general reduction of prices. The free-traders declared the new Corn Bill to be an insult to a suffering nation. But Peel's majority was so large, his influence was so great, that the issue was never in doubt. His measures were carried in the form in which they were introduced, and experience justified the course which the minister had pursued. The country slowly recovered from the terrible distress which it had undergone. Trade improved, consumption was stimulated, and no serious fall in prices affected either the lauded interest or the working classes. Encouraged by these circumstances, Peel, in 1815, followed up his success with a still more memorable budget. Advancing a step further in the direction of Free-trade, he swept away with one stroke of the pen more than one half of the import duties with which the Customs Tariff was still encumbered, and with another stroke abolished all the export duties. At the same time he endeavoured to brighten the homes of the people by repealing the duties on glass; he tried to increase their employment by remitting the duties on cotton-wool.

These great fiscal changes were received with profound distrust by the Tory party, and Mr. Disraeli, giving expression to their feeling, made his famous declaration that a Conservative Government was an organised hypocrisy. Sir James Graham wrote prophetically :—

'I am aware of the fact that our country gentlemen are out of humour, and that the existence of the Government is endangered by their present temper. . . . If we have lost the confidence and goodwill of the country party, our official days are numbered. But the time will come when this party will bitterly deplore the fall of Sir Robert Peel, and when in vain they will wish that they had not overthrown a Government which its enemies could not vanquish, but which its supporters abandoned and undermined.'

It so happened that the irritation which the Tories felt at the fiscal legislation of the Government was increased by the measures which Peel simultaneously introduced to remedy the grievances of Ireland. It is highly to Peel's credit that, strenuously as he had resisted, and reluctantly as he had conceded, Catholic Emancipation, he endeavoured, when he attained high office, loyally to carry out the spirit of the Act.

'We must,' so he wrote to Sir James Graham in 1843, 'look out for respectable Roman Catholics for office. There are many grounds for not rigidly acting in Ireland on that specious principle that, if Protestants are better qualified for appointments that fall vacant, Protestants ought to be preferred to Catholics. Depend upon it, we must discard that favourite doctrine of Dublin Castle: "You cannot conciliate your enemies, therefore give everything to the most zealous of your friends."'

He wrote, two months afterwards, to the Lord Lieutenant:—

'I admit that political considerations would not justify a bad appointment of any kind, still less a bad judicial appointment. But I must, on the other hand, express my strong opinion that considerations of policy, and also of justice, demand a liberal and indulgent estimate of the claims of such Roman Catholics as abstain from political agitation. What is the advantage to the Roman Catholics of having removed their legal disabilities, if somehow or other they are constantly met by a preferable claim on the part of Protestants, and if they do not practically reap the advantage of their nominal equality as to civil privilege?'

And he did not confine himself to administrative remedies only. In 1843 he appointed the famous Devon Commission, and in 1845, the year in which the second of his great budgets strained the allegiance of the Tory party, his Government introduced three measures—one to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Devon Commission, and thus afford a little security to the Irish tenant; a second to increase the grant annually made to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth; and a third for the institution of three colleges, conducted on unsectarian principles, in the north, west, and south of Ireland, and affiliated to an unsectarian university in Dublin. The first of these measures, introduced by Lord Stanley in the Lords, was stilled by the opposition of the ultra-Tories. The two others became law; but they provoked an intensity of feeling which has hardly a parallel in our annals. 'The Carlton Club,' wrote Greville, 'was in a state of insurrection, and full of sound and fury. The disgust of the Conservatives, and their hatred of Peel, keep swelling every day.' But Peel calmly disregarded the anger which he had excited. 'Steadily and with unbending resolution he pushed the Bill [the Maynooth Bill] against the clamour of the Church, of the extreme Conservatives, and of the country. "The Bill," he wrote to Lord Brougham, "must pass. I will concentrate all my efforts to pass it. If this

VOL. CLXXXIX. NO. CCCLXXXVIII.

X

Worcestershire Public Library,
Acq. No. 7636 Date 25.7.75.

“ ‘Bill be secured I care comparatively little for the consequences.’ And so opposition was swept away, and shrank back before him, and the Bill became law.’

Few sessions in the history of Parliament have been more memorable than that of 1845, for few sessions have witnessed such successes as Peel secured in the budget, in the Maynooth Bill, and in the establishment of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. Yet, though the victory had been won, it had been gained at the expense of the party which Peel nominally led. It was the aid of the Liberals which had secured the passage of the Maynooth Bill; it was the aid of the Nonconformists which had secured the institution of the Queen's Colleges. It was the aid of the Free-traders which had secured the passage of the budget. All the principles that country gentlemen and country clergy held most dear were being set aside by Peel. He was betraying—so they thought—the landed interest by sacrificing Protection; he was betraying the Church by the increased endowment of Rome; he was betraying religion itself by the institution of godless colleges.

Thus, if Peel could retire to the country for his summer holiday with the satisfaction of knowing that he had accomplished a great work, he had the mortification of reflecting that he had alienated the affections of a great party. As the summer of 1845 wore on, however, he must have forgotten any anxiety which the past may have inspired in his deep apprehensions for the immediate future. The clouds were declaring war against the ministry. We think it was Lord John Russell who said, early in the forties, ‘I do not know whether the present ministers are a better Government than we were, but I know that they have had much better weather.’ He could not have repeated that reflexion in 1845. A wet spring was followed by a wet summer; ‘summer passed and autumn came, and still the rains were falling which were to rain away the Corn Laws.’

The first effect of the rain was obvious. The price of wheat steadily rose, till in the autumn it reached sixty shillings a quarter. But with the autumn came more serious news than the rise in the price of wheat, for it was suddenly announced that disease had attacked the potato, which was almost the sole support of millions of the Irish people; it was certain that the ministry had to deal with famine, and famine on an unprecedented scale.

In these circumstances Peel summoned the Cabinet, and

proposed to his colleagues that they should issue an Order in Council suspending the duty on corn, that they should convene Parliament for November 27, ask for its covering authority for the order issued on their own responsibility, and at the same time announce that after the Christmas recess the legislature would be invited to modify the existing Corn Law. The course which Peel thus recommended was not wholly without precedent. Nearly twenty years before, in 1826, he had been a member of a ministry which had induced the legislature to authorise the introduction of a limited quantity of foreign corn, in defiance of the provisions of the existing Corn Laws. But the precedent, such as it was, was not likely to commend itself to the country gentlemen. For the measure of 1826 had been succeeded by the Corn Law of 1828, and it seemed difficult to resist the conclusion that suspension in 1845 would be followed by a similar consequence.

Instead, therefore, of adopting the Prime Minister's advice, the Cabinet—or those members of it who disliked the proposal—contended that there was no occasion for serious alarm or for any prompt remedy. After three meetings ministers separated on November 6, agreeing to reassemble on the 25th. Up to this time only three members of the Cabinet—Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert—were on the side of Peel.

When the Cabinet reassembled on November 25 the news from Ireland obviously increased the intensity of the crisis. Ministers could no longer contend that there was no occasion for serious alarm or for a prompt remedy. While they, moreover, were hesitating, the leader of the Opposition was acting. Lord John Russell, in his famous Edinburgh letter, had avowed on the 22nd that his own views were altered, that it was 'no longer worth while to contend for a fixed 'duty,' and had called on the people to 'unite to put an 'end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of 'commerce, the bane of agriculture.'

If Lord John Russell's views had been suddenly altered in the presence of a grave crisis, 'a momentous change was in 'process in the mind of the Prime Minister.'

'Up to 1844 he had remained resolute in the maintenance of his Corn Laws. . . . In speaking on the Address early in [that year] he said: "I believe the abolition of the Corn Laws would produce great confusion and distress; I can say, with truth, that I have not contemplated, and do not contemplate, an alteration in the present Corn Law."'

Towards the close of the session of 1845, however, close observers detected a marked alteration in the minister's language. In that year

‘he delivered three speeches of importance, in which he dealt with the question of the Corn Laws. On each of these occasions he stated the same thing: that his policy was one of gradual relaxation of duties, but that he could not consent to the immediate and total abolition of the Corn Laws. Yet the direction in which his mind was tending was plain. Lord Howick, at the conclusion of the last night's debate, very truly observed that the right hon. baronet's speech was an unanswerable one in favour of the gradual abolition of the duties on corn.’

In short, there can be little doubt that Peel had slowly arrived at the conclusion that there was no reason why he should not apply to corn the principles which he was already applying to other commodities; why he should not gradually replace prohibitive duties with moderate duties, and moderate duties with Free-trade.

It required, indeed, the pressure of famine to drive home these conclusions. If the potatoes had not rotted in the ground in 1845, Peel would probably have adhered to his old policy of gradual progress. But the prospect of famine left him, as he thought, no alternative. The advice which he had given to the Cabinet in the end of October, he repeated even more strongly at the end of November. Two of his colleagues, the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Stanley, refused to support him. Peel, believing it to be hopeless to persevere with a divided Cabinet, resigned office, and the Queen sent for Lord John Russell, and entrusted him with the task of forming an administration.

It does not fall within our present province to relate the circumstances which prevented Lord John from fulfilling the duty which was thus confided to him. It is sufficient to say that he failed to reconcile the differences of some of his leading supporters, and on December 20 found himself compelled to abandon his attempt. The Queen, thereupon, naturally returned to her old advisers; and begged Peel not to desert her in a moment of difficulty, but to resume office. Peel immediately replied: ‘I want no consultations, no time for reflexion. I will be your minister, happen what may.’ But we must leave Mr. George Peel to relate the conclusion of the story:—

‘Immediately on Sir Robert's return to London, the members of the late Cabinet were summoned and met in Downing Street. One then living with the Prime Minister has told me of that night. They

began to assemble after nine o'clock, Graham first, then Wellington, then the rest. The junior members of the ministry, who knew nothing, settled themselves down to hear that they were out, and that Lord John was in. The Prime Minister rose. He announced that he was in, and that Lord John was out; would they support him? There was a dead silence. . . . The silence was at length broken. Stanley declined point-blank. Then was uplifted the voice of the master of many legions, who so often had sharpened the edge of battle and saved the day. Wellington said that he was delighted. He should have done himself exactly what Peel had done. He had opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. But, in his view, the Queen's Government was more important than the Corn Laws or than any other law. This turned the situation; the rest agreed, and the minister was himself again.'

For the second time in his life Peel was now committed to the unpardonable sin, in a party sense, of an abrupt change of policy. Just as in 1829 the incidents of the Clare election induced him suddenly to recommend the emancipation of the Catholics, which he had spent his life in opposing, so, in 1845, the prospects of Irish famine induced him to give up the Corn Laws. It is natural that in these circumstances the two events should be closely associated in men's minds, and that Peel's conduct on the one occasion should be regarded as an exact parallel to his conduct on the other. But a little reflexion will show that there was a broad distinction between the two cases. In the first place, in 1829, Peel's conversion was sudden. In 1845 it had been gradual. The whole history of his Ministry from 1841 to 1846 shows a steady progress towards Free-trade measures, and the tariff of 1846 was little more than the logical consequence of the budget of 1842. But, in the next place, in 1845 Peel paid the penalty which, in our judgement, he would have done better if he had paid in 1829. He tendered to the Crown the resignation of his office. It is true that he resumed power when the Whigs failed to form a ministry. But even the most extreme partisan will hesitate to condemn him on this account. The rules of party warfare, in our judgement, require a minister when he changes his policy to resign his trust. But, when his adversaries fail to form a government, the rules of party warfare do not forbid, while duty to the Crown and public requires, that he should resume office.

We think, then, that even in a party sense there is a justification for Peel's conduct in 1845 which it is difficult to find for it in 1829. But the men who thought that they were betrayed by their leader could not, perhaps, have been

expected to draw nice distinctions of this kind. To many of them, indeed, the later apostasy seemed much more serious than the first; for, while the policy of 1829 only touched their creed, the policy of 1845-46 affected their pockets. Peel had already done much—so they thought—to diminish the rent of land; but the profits of real property would disappear, its burdens only would remain, under a new Corn Law.

The Tories were the more angry because, while they felt themselves betrayed, they were conscious that they were powerless. All their best speakers in the House of Commons were either in the Cabinet or in the Government. The Whig leaders, to whom they might otherwise have turned in their distress, had already declared for Free-trade. There seemed literally to be no one whom they could oppose to Peel and Sir James Graham. But crises are apt to produce men, and when Parliament met the country gentlemen had the satisfaction of finding that there was at least one man in the House of Commons who was as eager as they were to wound, but who, unlike themselves, was not afraid to strike, the minister. And, in their anxiety for revenge, they ranged themselves—perhaps they had no alternative but to range themselves—under a brilliant but unscrupulous adventurer.

We have hitherto, in this article, concentrated our attention on Peel alone, and we have not turned aside, either to the right hand or to the left, to consider any incidents not strictly relevant to his character. But the conduct of Mr. Disraeli to Peel raises such grave questions, and Mr. Parker's volumes throw such new light upon them, that we must, at the cost of interrupting our argument, devote a few sentences to their examination. Let us first state the facts as they were known before these volumes appeared. There is no doubt that Peel, nettled and worn out by the attacks which Mr. Disraeli made on him night after night, said, on May 15, 1846 :—

'I will only say that if he, after reviewing the whole of my public life . . . previously to my accession to office in 1841, entertained the opinion of me which he now professes, it is a little surprising that he should have been prepared to give me his confidence. It is still more surprising that he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office.'

There is equally no doubt that Mr. Disraeli, in replying to the insinuation, which he said had conveyed a very erroneous impression, declared :—

'I understand the insinuation of the right hon. gentleman, if it meant anything, to be this : that my opposition, or, as he called it, my envenomed opposition, to him was occasioned by my being disappointed of office. Now . . . I do not think that there would have been anything dishonourable for me, if, when the new Government was formed in 1841, I had been an applicant for office. . . . But I can assure the House that nothing of the kind ever occurred. I never shall—it is totally foreign to my nature—make any application for place.'

After referring to some private communications which had passed in 1841 between himself and some intimate friend of Peel's, he went on to say :—

'I never asked a favour of the Government, not even one of those mechanical things which persons are obliged to ask. . . . And as regards myself, I never directly or indirectly solicited office.'

No flatter contradiction was ever given. Yet Mr. Parker now publishes (1) a letter from Mr. Disraeli of September 5, 1841, not merely applying for office, but concluding 'I confess to be unrecognised at this moment by you appears to me to be overwhelming, and I appeal to your own heart—to that justice and magnanimity which I feel are your characteristics—to save me from an intolerable humiliation ;' (2) a letter from Mrs. Disraeli, of the same date, reminding the minister of her husband's exertions and of her own sacrifices in the Conservative cause; and (3) a letter from Sir James Graham of December 21, 1843, stating that Mr. Disraeli had applied for a place for his brother. We at once admit that there is no proof that Mr. Disraeli was aware—indeed, the strong presumption is that he was ignorant—of Mrs. Disraeli's remarkable application. But what are we to say of the other evidence? We know, indeed, that Mr. Disraeli had a convenient, or inconvenient, memory, which led him to reproduce, both in his speeches and in his writings, whole passages from other men. But it now seems that, if he occasionally remembered what he had better have forgotten, he sometimes also forgot what it was his duty to remember.

Undeterred, however, by the recollections of applications he had made in the past, Mr. Disraeli now set himself to attack and obstruct the minister; and it must be admitted that uncompromising attack and unscrupulous obstruction have hardly ever been more successfully conducted. It so happened that the policy of the ministry aided these tactics. Peel never did anything by halves. Difficult as was the task which he had set himself of repealing the

Corn Laws, he made it more difficult, or at any rate more complicated, by making the reform of the Corn Laws only part of a fresh measure of Free-trade. And, though it was certain that the measure would exhaust the energies of the most resolute statesman and consume the whole time of Parliament, the disturbed condition of Ireland induced him at the same time to introduce a fresh Coercion Bill. It is more remarkable that he should have thought it necessary to do so because, only the year before, in writing to Sir James Graham, he had declared that 'there is more advantage in repressing outrage by means of the ordinary laws, and, above all, by the courage and resolution of the owners of property, than by any attempt to supply the place of courage and resolution by extraordinary laws.' The introduction of two great measures instead of one necessarily increased the opportunities for obstruction. On one of them, indeed, though deserted by the bulk of his own friends, Peel could rely on the steady support of the Whigs. On the other he could not be certain of any such assistance. Though Lord John Russell at first consented to support the Coercion Bill, avowing his intention to amend it in committee, the delay in its passage gave him an excuse for saying that it was more convenient to reject than to amend it. He joined, therefore, the discontented protectionists; and so it came to pass that, on the very evening on which the Tariff Bill passed the Lords, Peel received his final defeat in the House of Commons.

Whatever judgement may be formed of Peel's conduct in office, there can be no dissenting opinion as to his manner of leaving it. No minister has ever fallen with greater dignity. He asked for no rewards for himself, no dignities for his family. His solitary request to the Queen was that, in redeeming her promise to give him her own and the Prince's portraits, 'your Majesty will permit the portrait of the Prince of Wales to be included in the picture which contains your Majesty's portrait.' He expressed an earnest hope, in a letter which he placed with his will, 'that no member of my family will apply for, or will accept if offered, any title, distinction, or reward on account of services I may have rendered in Parliament or in office.' One other favour he did, indeed, beg of his Sovereign—a promise that she would never again ask him to enter her service.

There can be very little doubt that, in making this request, Peel did genuinely desire to abstain in future from

the responsibilities of power. Office throughout life had been distasteful to him; and the greatest administrator of his age, or perhaps of any age, hated the drudgery of administration. In his later years, moreover, he felt the strain too much for him.

‘I defy the minister of this country,’ he wrote in 1845, ‘to perform properly the duties of his office—to read all that he ought to read; . . . to see all whom he ought to see; to superintend the grant of honours and the disposal of civil and ecclesiastical patronage; to write with his own hand to every person of note that chooses to write to him; to be prepared for every debate, including the most trumpery concerns; to do all these indispensable things, and also to sit in the House of Commons eight hours a day for 118 days. It is impossible for me not to feel that the duties are incompatible, and above all human strength—at least above mine. . . . I never mean to solve the difficulty in one way—namely, by going to the House of Lords. But it must be solved in one way or another. The failure of the mind is the usual way, as we know from sad experience.’

Peel’s premature death in 1850 makes it unnecessary to decide whether, if he had lived, he could have adhered to his resolution to remain out of office. During the four years of life, indeed, which were left to him after his retirement, he showed no anxiety to win any party advantage. He left to the ultra-Tories, who had deserted him, the task of opposing the new ministry, while he himself constantly interfered in its favour. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell on the events of these concluding years. Peel’s character must be judged by reviewing his conduct in office; it is by the policy which he pursued in office, and not by that which he advocated in opposition, that his place in history must be ultimately determined.

Few people will deny that as an administrator, as a legislator, and as a member of Parliament, Peel ranked among the very greatest of the great men whom this country has produced. Both in Ireland, where, it must be remembered, he had to contend with the inexperience of youth, and in his long tenure of the Home Office, when he was in the maturity of his powers, he displayed administrative qualities which have never been excelled. In both countries he found the police force inadequate and inefficient, and in Ireland he organised the Constabulary; in London he gave us the Metropolitan Police. But it was not in administration alone that Peel excelled all his contemporaries; his legislation is equally remarkable for the completeness with which he dealt with every subject which he touched. His

whole soul would have revolted from the modern practice of 'cobbling' Acts of Parliament. He was never satisfied with merely introducing some slight amendment in a law to make it applicable to the altered conditions of society, or to bring it in accord with the changed opinions of the age. When he made up his mind to deal with a subject, he uniformly dealt with it as a whole. And it resulted from this thoroughness that the legislation which he gave us has so largely endured in the shape in which he left it. He impressed his own mind and his own will on the Statute Book; and the Statute Book remains to this day a monument of what he accomplished.

If this is true of legislation in general, it is especially true of the commercial and financial legislation of which he was so great a master. He not merely, in 1819, devised the conditions on which cash payments should be resumed; he laid down, in 1844, the principles on which paper issues should be regulated. Both measures aroused keen criticism. In the first half of the century men of various parties were fond of pointing out the many evils which they thought had resulted from making gold the sole standard of value. In the last half of the century, men have been equally busy in criticising the provisions of the Bank Charter Act. But neither in the first nor in the last half of the century did these critics succeed in persuading the nation that their own specifics were superior to Peel's prescriptions. His views have not only endured, but they have commanded, as the years rolled on, a more and more general acceptance.

His financial policy is even more remarkable. Other men than Peel had arrived at the conclusion that a tax on income was necessary. But Peel was the first minister who had the courage to propose it in a time of peace, and to use it as a lever for furthering the cause of Free-trade. In these days, when the drift of opinion in a Parliament elected by household suffrage tends more and more steadily to substitute direct for indirect taxation, we perhaps hardly realise the strength of mind that was required in the forties to tax property for the liberation of commerce. Other men, again, had seen the absurdity of the old system of Protection, which hampered and restricted the commercial spirit of the nation. But they had contented themselves with proposing some amendment in this or that duty. Peel, on approaching the subject, dealt with Protection as twenty years before he had dealt with the criminal code. He treated the whole subject at once. He has had his reward. The

reforms which he was able to carry have been extended by some of his successors, but the principles on which the budgets of 1842, 1845, and 1846 were founded remain undisturbed. They are still the Magna Charta of our commercial liberty.

If, then, we judge the minister by the completeness, the thoroughness, or the importance of his work, we shall find it difficult to place any other statesman on his level; we shall find it impossible to place any other statesman above him. But we do not conceal from ourselves that there is another side to the picture; that there are deficiencies in Peel for which it puzzles us to account; and that his own great achievements are his most formidable accusers.

The great defect in Peel's career as a whole is that he never set himself down to consider what the policy of a great statesman in this country should be. He belonged to the Tory party just as many of us belong to the Church of England, by right of birth. And, till a great question became urgent through stress of circumstances, he went on repeating the stock arguments on the subject which he had inherited from previous generations. Till 1842, for example, he believed in Protection, and he almost certainly concluded that protective duties had the effect of increasing the demand for labour, and, consequently, of raising the rate of wages. The budget of 1842 proved the fallacy of this reasoning.

'I have six years' experience,' so he said in the concluding months of his administration—'during the first three years, high prices and low wages; during the last three years, low prices and high wages; and I cannot resist the conclusion that wages do not vary with the price of provisions. They do vary with the increase of capital, with the prosperity of the country, with the increased power to employ labour; but there is no immediate relation between wages and provisions, or if there be a relation, it is an inverse ratio.'

It is remarkable, however, that, while he had reconsidered and abandoned as unsound the old view of wages depending on the price of food, he still clung to the equally untenable position that the rate of wages would fall if the hours of work were reduced from twelve to ten.

'This additional restriction of labour,' so he wrote to the Queen, in 1844, 'was opposed by your Majesty's servants on the ground that it exposed the manufacturers of this country to a very formidable competition with those of other countries in which labour is not restricted; that it must lead to a great reduction in the wages of the workmen, as it is vain to suppose that their masters will give the same wages for ten hours' labour as they give for twelve.'

It never occurred to him that there were limits to the endurance of workpeople, and especially of young workpeople whose powers were imperfectly developed, and that a tired boy or girl was just as faulty a machine as a tired horse. The prejudice of the manufacturer survived when the prejudice of the country gentleman had disappeared.

It was, perhaps, this defect in Peel's mind, this constitutional reluctance to examine any great subject till it became acute, which made him so capable an administrator. For the greatest administrators are those who make the best use of the imperfect and perhaps obsolete machinery at their command. But it unquestionably detracts from Peel's greatness as a statesman, while it ruined his position as a party leader. Those who have no doubt that Catholic emancipation was necessary in 1829, and that Free-trade was desirable in 1845-6, may still hesitate to admit that either measure should have been proposed or carried by Peel. The first duty of a statesman is, of course, to his country. But while party government exists it is not easy to separate a man's duty to his country from his duty to his friends. However genuine and right a change of opinion may be, there is something like treachery in using the power with which you have been entrusted for one purpose to accomplish another; and, when the same minister twice acts in the same way, it is not surprising that his political supporters should call him a traitor.

Peel, moreover, did not soften the effect of his conduct by any of those graces of manner which have kept so many parties loyal. In the House he was an unyielding dictator.

'I would not admit of any alteration in any of these Bills,' he wrote to Sir H. Hardinge in 1845. 'This was thought very obstinate and very presumptuous; but the fact is, people like a certain degree of obstinacy and presumption in a minister. They abuse him for dictation and arrogance, but they like being governed.'

The man who could write in this way was not likely to conciliate supporters by concessions. If they changed their votes 'within forty-eight hours on the menace of a minister, they neither forgot the threat nor forgave the man.' With his opponents Peel held a still higher tone. We were amazed, on reading Mr. Parker's volumes, to see how numerous were the occasions on which he was ready to meet a political antagonist in a duel. We knew, of course, that in 1815 Peel was prepared to fight Mr. O'Connell, and, later on, Mr. O'Connell's friend, Mr. Lidwill; but we were not

prepared to find that, in 1831, he sent Sir Henry Hardinge with a letter to Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), calling him to account for a speech made at the general election of that year; that, in 1835, he called on Mr. Hume to disavow an imputation on his honour in a letter which, if it had not elicited an expression of regret, must almost inevitably have led to a duel; and that, in 1837, he again employed Sir Henry Hardinge to convey a challenge to Captain (afterwards Lord) Townshend. Even this formidable series of possible duels does not exhaust the list; for Mr. Thursfield tells us that 'it is certain that during the acrimonious debates on 'the Corn Laws, in 1846, when he was rancorously pursued 'by the leaders of the party which felt itself betrayed by 'him, he was so provoked on one occasion that he desired 'to send a challenge to his assailant.' We make every allowance for the change of manners which has taken place in the course of the present century; but even after doing so it is startling to find a man in Peel's position adopting the methods and the remedies of a subaltern in a cavalry regiment.

The fact is that Peel's temper—though he almost invariably succeeded in restraining it in debate—was naturally hot. Mr. Parker tells us that 'Mr. Gladstone sometimes 'found him peppery.' We have heard one of Mr. Gladstone's contemporaries, who knew Peel well, describe his temper in much stronger language. And this heat, which must have been trying to his colleagues and supporters, was not compensated in Peel's case by the warmth of manner which does so much both to conciliate and to attract. If Peel, when he lost his temper, was unusually hot, on other occasions he was exceptionally cold. He had a shy and reserved manner, which chilled his acquaintances. 'Peel 'has no manners;' such was the Duke of Wellington's description of him. 'Il ne se déboutonna jamais,' such was M. Guizot's phrase. There were moments, indeed, when Peel succeeded in throwing off this chilling reserve. In society which suited him he knew how to expand. He delighted to gather around him at Drayton men of real eminence in literature, in science, and in the arts. Of one of these gatherings Mr. Parker gives us an insight by quoting a letter from Peel to Prince Albert in 1844.

'I have some very distinguished scientific men on a visit here Dr. Buckland, Dr. Lyon Playfair (the translator of Liebig), Professor Wheatstone (the inventor of the electric telegraph), Professor Owen of the College of Surgeons, Mr. George Stephenson the engineer, Mr. Pusey, Mr. Smith of Deanston.

But we believe we are right in saying that such a gathering was no unusual event at Drayton, and that these and other men of similar attainments were the constant guests of the Prime Minister.

His patronage of literary men was usually discriminating. When he left office in 1835 he offered baronetcies to Mr. Southey and Mr. Barrow. He wrote to Wordsworth, to whom he was personally unknown, and asked him to tell him without reserve 'whether there is anything which I can 'do to gratify your present wishes or relieve you from anxiety 'about the future.' He conferred pensions on Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Airy, Mrs. Somerville, Hogg, and Southey. In his later ministry he offered a baronetcy to Hallam; he conferred pensions on Tennyson,* Wordsworth, Sir W. Hamilton, and he gave much-needed assistance to Haydon and Hood. Fortunate indeed was the minister who had such men to reward, but fortunate also was the country whose minister had the good sense and knowledge to make such a selection.

In the disposal of other honours he was equally discriminating. In five years he conferred only six peerages, and three of them—Ellenborough, Hardinge, and Gough—were for public services which no minister could have omitted to reward. He was equally cautious in the creation of baronetcies, and he even advised Sir James Graham 'to be 'as sparing as possible of knighthood. The distinction of 'being without an honour is becoming a rare and valuable 'one, and should not become extinct.' The cautious abstinence which he thus displayed increased his difficulties as a party leader. 'Ten years' exclusion from office,' so he told his brother-in-law, 'had brought him claims from half the 'gentry of the country to be made either peers or baronets.' And we can readily understand that these ambitious suitors were not reconciled to the minister—whose measures were threatening their rent rolls—by the reflexion that there was no prospect for them either of title or rank while he retained the prime ministership.

We have now endeavoured, so far as was possible in our narrow limits, to trace the leading incidents in Peel's career, and to weigh the worth of his services. In doing so we have been forced to exclude from our review all reference

* Mr. Gladstone wrote, on this occasion, of Tennyson: 'It appears established that, though a true and even a great poet, he can hardly become a popular and is much more likely to be a starving one' (iii. p. 441).

to foreign affairs, as well as to the extremely interesting correspondence which Peel maintained with Lord Ellenborough and Sir H. Hardinge on India, and to confine ourselves rigidly and exclusively to his domestic policy. We have not attempted to conceal the defects in Peel's character, or his deficiencies as a party leader, and we have endeavoured to lay no undue stress on the great services which he rendered to his country. These services, indeed, do not require emphasising. The man who restored our credit, regulated our currency, reformed the criminal code, established the Metropolitan Police, promoted Free-trade, and gave us cheap bread, is in no need of an apology. On the whole, we can have very little doubt that the passions and the animosities which he provoked will gradually be forgotten, and that the achievements which he accomplished will alone be remembered. History will then record that, though Sir Robert Peel had not the eloquence of Chatham, the genius of Canning, or the foresight of Grey, he rendered services to the country which few prime ministers have equalled and none have excelled; and perhaps it may then recall the words which Carlyle wrote to him in 1846: —

‘By and bye, as I believe, all England will say what already many a one begins to feel, that, whatever were the spoken untruths in Parliament, and they are many on all hands, lamentable to Gods and men, here has a great veracity been done in Parliament, considerably our greatest for many years past, a strenuous, courageous, and manful thing, to which all of us that so see it are bound to give our loyal recognition, and such furtherance as we can.’

ART. II.—1. *Diamonds*. Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, Friday, June 11, 1897. By Sir WILLIAM CROOKES, F.R.S.

2. *Papers and Notes on the Genesis and Matrix of the Diamond*. By the late HENRY CARVILL LEWIS, M.A. Edited by Professor BONNEY, F.R.S. London: 1897.

3. *Les Diamants du Cap*. PAR L. DE LAUNAY. Paris: 1897.

4. *Les Mines de l'Afrique du Sud*. PAR ALBERT BORDEAUX, Ingénieur Civil des Mines. Paris: 1898.

5. *Le Four Électrique*. PAR M. HENRI MOISSAN, de l'Institut. Paris: 1897.

THE long-outstanding problem of the origin of diamonds is virtually solved. Their successful production in the laboratory has removed most of the doubts surrounding it. 'Cosa fatta capo ha.' With his crucibles full of gems, hot and hot from the furnace, the chemist can speak with authority. They are, it is true, of diminutive size, and, more often than not, shattered in the throes of birth; so that the prospect is remote of turning Institutes of Physical Research into Golconda-marts; yet their genuineness—take them for what they are worth—is equally incontestable with that of the Koh-i-noor itself.

The old familiar mode of occurrence of diamonds was as 'rolled pebbles.' In India, Borneo, Brazil, and Australia they form an ingredient of alluvial detritus, and are obviously flood-borne. Hence the phrases associating their qualities with 'water.' Gold was termed by Pliny their 'faithful companion;' and the traditional fellowship often enough severed in modern experience—survives in the 'Paradise Lost' wherever purposes of ornament are in question, although for strength, as in the armour of Adramalech, the adamantine gem is employed alone. Diamonds, nevertheless, have usually a *cortège* of semi-precious stones—garnet, topaz, tourmaline, chalcédony; and a corresponding origin has sometimes been assigned to them. At first sight, the case seems plain. For they can, in Brazil, be tracked home to an ancient and dilapidated quartzite formation known as 'itacolumite,' a metamorphic rock, altered by heat, rent by earthquakes, fissured, grooved, eroded, injected with igneous products. Among these, in a qualified sense, the diamonds derived from it may be ranked. They are, undoubtedly, casual adjuncts to the original strata. Their place is among

the heterogeneous contents of vacuities in those transformed and tormented deposits. They are a minimal part of the breccia with which chasms have gradually become filled. There, as elsewhere, they are immigrants. Professor Gorlaix and Mr. Orville A. Derby * satisfied themselves, indeed, in 1886 of their being 'vein-minerals.' Finding some small stones embedded in a decomposed ferruginous seam through an itacolumite ridge at São João de Chapada, in the province of Minas Geraes, they concluded them to have grown in mother-earth by the sublimation of carbon from the interior of the globe. For diamonds, however, such an origin is impossible. It is excluded—if no otherwise—by the single fact that they are non-adherent. None have ever been met with attached to any sort or kind of *point d'appui*. Each is essentially a free growth. None have flat or unfinished sides. They did not then at any time stand out like gargoyles in relief from plane surfaces.

The discovery of the 'dry diggings' in South Africa gave a completely new turn to ideas on the subject. This was in 1870, three years after a whitish pebble with a curious interior glimmer had been picked up in the bed of the Orange River, and taken to Cape Town by an Irish ostrich-hunter. For in Griqualand West diamonds occur in 'washings,' as well as in mines, although the mines only are characteristic and peculiar. They are, indeed, among the most instructive geological phenomena in existence.

The great Karoo formation spreads like a mantle over two hundred thousand square miles of South Africa east and west from the Spitzkop to the Red Heights above Middleburg, north and south from the Black Mountains to the Vaal River. Its component beds were deposited at the bottom of an inland sea during the Triassic age, when the Labyrinthodon, or monster toad-lizard, led the van of creation; but their succession alternated with upwellings of molten basalt, which spread into level sheets intercalated between the carbonaceous shales representing the lacustrine ooze and the lacustrine vegetation of an all but endless epoch. They appear to have proceeded in comparative tranquillity, those copious lava-inundations. Vehement volcanic action was delayed until the complete stratification of the Karoo had been accomplished. Provoked, doubtless, by water-infiltrations to the smouldering volcanic foci beneath, tremendous explosions then took place, enormous

* Science, vol. ix. p. 57.

volumes of gas were evolved, and, irresistibly expanding, perforated the superincumbent rocks with ample channels of escape. These did not remain empty. By spasmodic efforts most likely, not all at once nor all together, they were replenished from below. Of genuine igneous eruptions no traces remain; the work was done by mud-rushes transporting upwards miscellaneous subterranean *débris*, largely intermixed with 'floating reefs'—fragments, that is to say, torn from the circumjacent strata—the whole being agglutinated by tufaceous stuff into a volcanic breccia. This volcanic breccia is the 'blue ground' of Kimberley, the nidus of South African diamonds.

Such, apparently, is the history of these singular repositories. They are not, properly speaking, extinct craters, but rather gigantic blow-holes, excavated catastrophically, refilled gradually. The core materials in each 'pipe' represent several 'pours.' Obvious traces are encountered as they are dug out of variously conditioned inflows. There were no overflows. The treasure-laden breccia did not spread aboveground. In a few cases it failed to reach the surface, and the including shafts were masked by 'pans,' or depressions. The 'gours' of Auvergne, and the 'maare' of the Eiffel, are examples of similar volcanic chimneys left vacant, or merely water-filled.

The South African mines are not very numerous. Four lie clustered together at Kimberley within a diameter of less than four miles—the Kimberley, the De Beers, Dutoitspan, and Bulfontein. The Wesselton, opened later, belongs to the same group. The Leicester is on the Vaal, but inside the boundary line of Cape Colony; while the Orange Free State owns the diggings at Kaffersfontein and at Jagersfontein, where the magnificent 'thousand carat' stone known as the 'Excelsior' was disinterred five hours before the expiry of Messrs. Wernher, Beit, and Company's contract for the total yield from the works. All the shafts have clean-cut walls, testifying to the violence of the explosions by which they were created; and the uptilting of the black shales—elsewhere horizontal—forming their masonry, tells the same story. They are, moreover, quite unchanged by metamorphic influences, so that the conclusion may be reiterated that here gas-and-water eruptions only were concerned.

Among the mineral species brought upwards by them are olivine, augite, bronzite, garnet, mica, zircon, titanite and chromic iron. The absence of gold is noteworthy. Diamonds

never fail, although their distribution in the various 'pipes' is unequal, and in single 'pipes' irregular. The manner of their occurrence is full of significance. They are plainly not *in situ*; they have travelled, yet they have not travelled far. On these points doubt is scarcely admissible; for the crystals are often scratched, and only diamond can scratch diamond. Mutual moving contact, which implies transport, was then incidental to their career. They are besides quite commonly met with in a fragmentary state, but never in pieces that can be matched. The inference is obvious—that they were broken, not where they lay, but *en route*, nor very far off, since the fractured edges are invariably sharp and unabraded. Unquestionably they flew asunder through internal tension; many still do so on being removed from the mines. The warmth of the hand may alone suffice to determine an explosion, when the dismayed digger sees a priceless gem replaced by a parcel of splinters. Such disasters are, however, now guarded against by anxious precautions, even to the point of housing suspected stones in raw potatoes for the homeward voyage. Once in Hatton Garden they take their chance, and the risk is at any rate transferred. These unstable diamonds are much in the same case with deep-sea fishes, brought to the surface in a dredge-net. The internal economy of the creatures, being adjusted to the pressure of fifteen hundred or two thousand fathoms of water, 'goes wild,' like a steam engine with a broken shaft, on its sudden removal. So crystals, originally strained, or enclosing a minute bubble of powerfully condensed gas, give way on the lightening of the rocky load which just sufficed to equilibrate the contending forces within.

The South African diamond mines are unique. Let us recall their main characteristics. Colossal cylinders, two hundred to five hundred feet across, pierced from below through a granitic substructure surmounted by an immense overlay of carbonaceous shales and sandstones, they are engorged with a serpentinous breccia, strongly compacted by muddy injections, and stored with a miscellaneous assortment of minerals. This 'blue' rock—named 'Kimberlite' by Professor Carvill Lewis—is really of a dull green tint, due to its impregnation with iron oxides, which, appropriating an additional equivalent of oxygen on exposure to the air, turn yellow, and give to the upper sections and subaerial fields their well-known ochraceous aspect. Essentially the same material is, however, now excavated at a depth of close upon two thousand feet, as was struck by the

first prospector's pickaxe thirty years ago. The mines, unless all the indications at hand prove deceptive, are bottomless. Their precious contents, instead of 'petering out' with descent, grow more abundant. They were supplied, perhaps, by direct communication with reservoirs so profoundly subterranean as to be accessible only to those personally conducted by Virgil or Jules Verne. It appears certain, moreover, that each pipe was fed from an independent source. Their products are separately recognisable. A trained eye can distinguish De Beers from Kuffeefontein diamonds; those dug within the range of a rifle bullet at Bulfontein and Dutoitspan show a discernible difference of colour; the perfect octahedrons of Newlands resemble neither the irregular white stones from Wesselton, nor the 'cross-grained' 'frosted' stones from Leicester; while the Jagersfontein gems remind connoisseurs by their steely glitter of the old Indian 'blues'—the 'Orloff,' the 'Regent,' the 'Sancy'—and fetch proportionately high prices. But their intrinsic brilliancy is dependent for its display upon the lapidary's art. Rough diamonds are neither more nor less ornamental than lumps of gum arabic, for which, indeed, they might be mistaken but for a sort of veiled gleam betokening high refractive capability.

We have now got so far as to perceive that diamonds are natives, not of the realm of Hyperion, but of some den of the Titans. On the surface of the earth, they are adventitious arrivals; their proper home is at some considerable distance underground. So much the Kimberley diggings have told us quite intelligibly; to learn more, we must appeal to the electric furnace.

The Norwegian philosopher, Henrik Steffens, is said to have defined diamond as 'quartz raised to self-consciousness;'^{*} and the notion seems to have been imported from the Madras Presidency, where the vitalising stroke of lightning is credited with power to effect the same transformation. They are indeed the most lifelike of precious stones. In none is the play of light so vivid or so various. 'Stones,' properly speaking, they are not. Their material entitles them to a place nearer the organic world than can be claimed for any other mineral substance. Our readers do not need to be told that diamonds are composed of pure carbon. Hence, alone among gems, spurious or true, they

^{*} Knowledge, August, 1897.

are perfectly transparent to the Röntgen rays. Silica, the usual substratum of jewels, glass, paste, crystal, are all comparatively opaque. An easy and infallible test for genuine diamonds has thus been unexpectedly provided by the Würzburg Professor's memorable discovery. These seeming stones are besides combustible. At a temperature of about 750° C. oxygen wholly consumes them, leaving only a trace of iron-ash. The shining playmate of the rainbow surrenders to the attack of chemical affinity no less absolutely than an equivalent piece of charcoal, and the marvellous alchemistic process by which, upon that dull body, a new and radiant 'form' had been superinduced, is at once and irretrievably undone.

Use blunts the edge of wonder; else the magic of molecular re-arrangement lurking in the phrase 'allotropic' could not be lightly passed over. We say glibly that diamond is an allotropic modification of carbon; and it is convenient to be able to state what we cannot explain, provided only that we do not allow statement to usurp the office of explanation. The bare facts, at any rate, are these: Brought within the influential sphere of certain innate laws of aggregation, the particles of carbon fall into ordered ranks—wheel into line—form square—go through sundry indefinable evolutions; and for a loose surging crowd is substituted a close and definite array. Carbon is incoherent, amorphous; it absorbs and stops light; it conducts electricity. A perfect diamond is of a figure mathematically exact; it is of 'adamantine' * hardness, exquisitely translucent, powerfully refractive, a non-conductor of electricity. It is besides remarkably phosphorescent. Diamonds become self-luminous by exposure to sunshine; they give out in the dark the light they have drunk up in the day; and subjected to bombardment with radiant matter in a Crookes's tube, they glow brilliantly in sheeny hues. The total change of properties accompanying their crystallisation is doubtless connected with an increase of density from little more than twice to three and a half times that of water.

The mystery of the process so familiar to us in its results—in the frosting of a window-pane, or the delicate anatomy of a snowflake—is enhanced, in the case of diamonds, by the peculiarities of their raw material. Carbon is an eminently intractable substance. At ordinary temperatures

* *Diamond* is a corruption of the Greek *adamas*, indomitable. The transition form, *diamas*, was used by Albertus Magnus.

no solvent can be found for it. At no temperature, unless by extraordinary compulsion, will it consent to melt. In the electric arc it passes directly into vapour, *skipping* the intermediate state. This behaviour, however, is less anomalous than it appears at first sight. Many kinds of matter sublime when heated with no special measures of precaution. Arsenic is an example. Even ice, in an exhausted receiver, evaporates if warmed, but is incapable of producing the least drop of moisture. Liquids can, indeed, exist only under pressure. The differences are of degree only, but they are very wide. Presumably, then, carbon would, at *some* degree of pressure, and under suitable conditions of temperature, assume the liquid form. It must do so, judging by all available indications, previously to crystallising as diamond.

The particles of a solid body are incapable of fundamental readjustments. They are too rigidly braced together. Their mutual bonds are too close to permit the necessary shiftings. Liquefaction, then, produced either directly by the action of heat, or indirectly by the action of a solvent, is usually indispensable to crystalline growth. The key to the enigma of diamond-production should accordingly be found in the liquefaction of carbon. The circumstances under which it is accomplished can hardly be other than identical with those attending the developement of the precious stones. Now, it is possible to determine approximately, by calculations based on the analogy of other substances, the nature of those circumstances. This has been done by Professor Dewar. He finds the boiling-point of carbon to be 3,874 centigrade degrees above the 'absolute zero,' equivalent to 3,600° on the ordinary scale; the 'critical point' is in the neighbourhood of 5,800° (absolute); and the corresponding 'critical pressure' scarcely, if at all, falls short of fifteen tons to the square inch. The meaning conveyed is that, above 5,800°, carbon can only exist as a gas, excessive elasticity precluding its compression into a liquid. This nevertheless becomes possible on a slight relaxation of temperature, when the minimum pressure needed to effect the purpose is fifteen tons to the square inch, or the weight of no less than two thousand two hundred and eighty atmospheres! The fusing-point of carbon is unknown; but it may be regarded as moveable, with varying pressure, between the limits 3,874° and 5,800° (absolute). The 'fusing-point pressure' is the still undetermined amount which would bring it into coincidence

with the boiling-point. Such are the arduous conditions for the genesis of diamonds—a temperature which *must* transcend 3,600° above that of melting ice, and a pressure which *may* equal the superincumbent power of a couple of thousand atmospheres. In nature, they are quite possibly realised at the depth of a few miles beneath the earth's surface; by art they seem, on a cursory view, hopelessly unattainable. Modern resources, however, are not easily baffled. Sir William Crookes informed his audience, in the lecture quoted at the head of this article, that Sir Frederick Abel and Sir Andrew Noble, in the course of experiments connected with the manufacture of cordite, obtained pressures in closed cylinders of more than six times the critical value arrived at theoretically by Professor Dewar, the concomitant temperature mounting to 4,000°. Could some degree of permanence, he added, be given to this remarkable state of things, carbon ought, as its outcome, to crystallise on a large scale; but it is unfortunately transient. Another way has been struck out.

Artificial diamonds represent one of the many triumphs of high-temperature chemistry. These, if less singular, are scarcely less instructive than the achievements of low-temperature chemistry. By a striking coincidence, the practicable thermal range has been almost simultaneously and largely extended both upward and downward. M. Henri Moissan's electric furnace might be described as the complement to Professor Dewar's coils and vacuum-vessels. It has brought within reach corresponding possibilities of novel experience. Matter vivified by exalted heat can be compared and contrasted with matter of the same species reduced to torpor by almost absolute cold. But cold has an assignable limit, while heat has none. Molecular rest—the theoretical condition of zero-temperature—is an intelligible state, although perhaps an illusory goal. Molecular motion, on the other hand, might, without logical hindrance, be accelerated *ad infinitum*. Only an intermediate region is available for the play of chemical affinity. It is paralysed by frigidity; a piece of phosphorus in liquid oxygen is as inert as a cork or a stone. It is superseded by the excitement of great heat, with its accompanying disruptive velocities of transport.

There is, however, no datum-level of heat either for the formation or for the dis severance of compounds. Each substance is a law to itself. It unites with other substances, and divorces them, so to speak, arbitrarily—or rather, as the

result of interacting forces so complex and delicate as to evade our gross methods of evaluation. Thus, the very same grade of temperature that forces one pair of elements to fly asunder, is a *sine qua non* for the coming together of another pair. At a red heat (about 700° C.), oxygen forsakes copper and iron, yet eagerly embraces hydrogen to form water. And water is stable below and above that point up to $3,000^{\circ}$, approximately, where it is resolved into its original constituents. Destructive in most cases, temperatures thus elevated are, nevertheless, in others constructive. The electric furnace is a potent agent, not only for dissociation, but also for association. By its invention, a whole series of high-grade compounds has been placed effectively at the disposal of science and industry. A new thermal region, extending up to near $3,600^{\circ}$, has been thrown open for chemical operations. None are more important than those concerned with carbon in its relations to various metals.

This fundamental material—so wonderfully adapted by its plasticity, no less than by its recalcitrance, to subserve the multitudinous purposes of life—is met with on the earth's surface under three elementary forms, definable as amorphous, foliated, and crystalline, or as charcoal, graphite, and diamond. Charcoal is carbon of the ordinary current kind, the residuum of charred organic matter, the universal *caput mortuum* of the organic world. Graphite is the same substance modified by strong heat apart from extraordinary pressure. Diamond, finally, is the outcome of high temperature combined with great pressure. Now, in pre-geological times, when our globe was still liquid, its primitive store of carbon must have lain near at hand, awaiting the imperious calls of vitality; and M. Moissan * opines it to have existed in the shape of metallic compounds, such as those produced with facility in his furnace. As cooling progressed, aqueous reactions set in, carbides were replaced by hydrocarbons, and eventually by carbonic acid, huge volumes of which originally encumbered the atmosphere. Carbides, however, doubtless survived in subterranean cavities, and perhaps survive even now. Many volcanic phenomena might be explained by intrusions of water upon such Plutonic 'foundries.' There is, moreover, strong reason to believe that they actually constitute the long-sought matrix of the diamond.

That fused iron dissolves carbon is no recent discovery;

but the affinity, illustrated in the Bessemer process, has been widely developed and investigated by M. Moissan. At the temperature of the electric furnace he finds this ordinarily intractable substance to be freely soluble in aluminium, chromium, manganese, nickel, uranium*—above all, in boiling silver and iron. Unluckily it separates from them in cooling, as it is deposited after sublimation, not in the radiant crystalline form, but merely in dull flakes of graphite. Only by main force can the desired substitution of the one for the other be effected. It would seem that the intimate marshalling power in this kind of matter is virtually annulled by a trifling separation of the centres from which it emanates. It acts only when they are brought within striking distance by mechanical means. The difficulty thus raised is formidable; yet it must be overcome before the manufacture of the gems enters upon a practicable stage. M. Moissan was the first duly to estimate and successfully to cope with it. His experiments were grounded upon careful inquiry into South African mining conditions. That they disclose great profundity of origin for the excavated objects was at once apparent to him, and underground factories, if placed deep enough, can avail to an almost unlimited extent of geocentric heat and geogonic pressure. The crux was to produce the same results without the same facilities. Sufficient heat was indeed at hand; the needful pressure was less easily evoked. But here a certain anomaly in the behaviour of cooling iron came to the rescue. Pure iron follows the common rule of contraction in solidifying; but iron saturated with carbon expands, after the manner of water turning into ice. Silver shows the same peculiarity. Now, by suddenly refrigerating a mass of carburised iron, a hard superficial shell would obviously be formed, powerfully constricting the interior, and hindering its natural expansion. Frost-burst water-pipes but too familiarly exemplify the all but irresistible strength of the molecular effort to get room under analogous circumstances. The tremendous interior pressure created by the restraint imposed upon it in M. Moissan's crucibles suffices to liquefy the carbon contained in them; and crystallisation ensues.

The process at present in use is substantially that described by Sir William Crookes June 11, 1897. Half a pound of pure iron is placed in a furnace heated by an

* *Le Four Électrique*, p. 152.

immensely powerful electric arc formed in a cavity between two blocks of calcareous stone. As the metal fuses, it rapidly dissolves the carbon of the poles close above; and after a few minutes' exposure to a temperature of $3,500^{\circ}$, the crucible, glowing like a comet amid fiery tresses of volatilised lime, is removed and plunged into ice-cold water, with the following result. 'The sudden cooling solidifies the outer layer of iron, and holds the inner molten mass in a tight grip. The expansion of the inner liquid in solidifying produces an enormous pressure, and under the stress of this pressure, the dissolved carbon separates out in a transparent, dense, crystalline form—in fact, as diamond.'* But of very mixed quality; black and white stonelets, flecked and flawless, cubic, octahedral, round, fragmentary, are jumbled together just as in nature.† Graphite is also present. The tedious operation of disengaging them from the iron-matrix occupies about a fortnight.

Immersion in water, however, is not the best means of bringing about the maximum reduction of temperature in the minimum of time. For a protective cushion of vapour instantaneously develops on the heated surface, preventing any real contact, and retarding indefinitely thermal equalisation. The same phenomenon has saved the skin of many a conjurer. Unsophisticated audiences have often been startled to see performers manipulate red-hot pokers and pincers with impunity, unconscious of the fact that their hands had just been removed dripping from water, which, promptly assuming the 'spheroidal state,' *gloved* them impenetrably during the critical moments. The French chemist thus improved his results by discarding water in favour of melted lead. The employment for refrigerating purposes of a body in itself formidably hot might not appear promising. But work at an unprecedentedly high level was in question, and the effect sought depended upon differential temperatures. The required reduction is from $3,500^{\circ}$ to $1,100^{\circ}$, the melting point of iron: and that reduction liquid lead at 325° is amply competent swiftly to bring about. The outcome justified the forecast. Stronger pressure evidently resulted, since a smaller proportion of 'raw' carbon—if the expression may pass—presented itself, and the crystallised material was of purer 'water.' 'Mountains of light,' it is true, did not issue from the lead-bath. The largest of the manu-

* Proceedings Royal Institution, 1897, p. 491.

† Moissan, 'Le Four Électrique,' p. 369.

factured gems might have been set in a ring for the Empress of Lilliput. Measuring one-fiftieth of an inch across, it had, nevertheless, outgrown its strength; within three months of its flagrant birth, minute fissures formed and grew, and a general break-up ensued.

Laboratory-diamonds are then unlikely soon to figure in trade returns; although it may prove possible to fabricate, on a remunerative scale, those imperfect varieties known as 'bort' and 'carbonado,' which, being no whit inferior for rock-drilling exigencies to the 'serenest' gems from Grao Mogor, command a steady market-price. The demonstrative value of the Paris crystals is, however, out of all proportion to their physical dimensions. They indeed mimic *ad unguem* the special properties of the Cape stones, and rather insist upon than suggest a closely similar origin. In making them, art had sought counsel from nature; and the methods of nature obtained, in turn, an instructive gloss through their repetition in miniature by art.

That stores of native iron exist deep down in the earth's crust has been almost certified by recent observations.* The great nickeliferous blocks at Ovifak, on the shore of Disko Island, to which a cosmic origin was attributed by Norden-skiöld, their discoverer, are now admitted to be terrestrial ejecta; and their character is probably shared by certain other supposed meteorites. Such masses usually, if not invariably, contain a notable ingredient of carbon; and thus several lines of evidence converge towards the inference that the transformation achieved in M. Moissan's crucibles is substantially the same that occurred on a relatively vast scale beneath every diamantiferous region in the world. It was most likely effected with extreme slowness. There was no hurry of sudden cooling—no momentary constriction—but the secular pressure due to miles of overlying rock, beneath which the gross material of inchoate gems advanced reluctantly, as it were, along the steep road of perfection. They should, however, have remained buried in the 'unfathomed caves,' where they were elaborated, had not volcanic action supervened. A conjecture may be hazarded as to the provoking cause. The South African epoch of great lakes had not yet terminated. A freshwater shell, picked up 120 feet below the surface in Kimberley mine, speaks eloquently of the contrast between the Triassic

* See an article by Professor Grenville Cole in 'Knowledge' for February 1899.

and the modern landscapes. The transition from aqueous to arid conditions occurred, perhaps, simultaneously with that breaching of the earth's crust, the results of which are still patent. The subsidence of the antique Karoo Sea, the bed of which had often been flooded with lava, and was most likely to be fissured by earthquakes, must have led to violent seismic spasms, alternating, doubtless, with prolonged spells of tranquillity. Their presumable course and conduct were sketched by Sir William Crookes.

'On reaching the iron,' he said, 'the water would be converted into gas, and this gas would rapidly disintegrate and erode the channels through which it passed, grooving a passage more and more vertical in the endeavour to find the quickest vent to the surface. But steam in the presence of molten, or even red-hot, iron, rapidly attacks it, oxidises the metal, and liberates large volumes of hydrogen gas, together with less quantities of hydrocarbons of all kinds—liquid, gaseous, and solid. Erosion commenced by steam would be continued by the other gases, and it would be no difficult task for pipes, as large as any found in South Africa, to be scored out in this manner.'

Illustrative effects of surprising intensity were obtained at Sir Andrew Noble's works. Before the rush of explosive products under fifteen hundred atmospheres, steel and granite wasted like snow in the sun.

'If steel and granite,' the lecturer continued, 'are thus vulnerable at comparatively moderate gaseous pressures, is it not easy to imagine the destructive upburst of hydrogen and water-gas grooving for itself a channel in the diabase and quartzite, tearing fragments from resisting rocks, covering the country with debris, and, finally, at the subsidence of the great rush, filling the self-made pipe with a water-borne magma, in which rocks, minerals, iron oxide, shale, petroleum, and diamonds are churned together in a veritable witch's caldron? As the heat abated, the water-vapour would gradually give place to hot water, which, forced through the magma, would change some of the mineral fragments into the now existing forms.'

If only the subterranean diamond factories thus indirectly shown to exist were more directly accessible, what 'sun-less treasuries' would be brought to light! But mere scanty specimens from these Nibelungen hoards are permitted to us by the jealous chthonic beings who have them in charge. In Sir William Crookes's prosaic view, a magnetic survey might help to localise them. At a depth of ten miles, a mass of iron five hundred feet in diameter would, it is calculated, perceptibly disturb the needle; and the presence of gem-bearing emissaries from it could then

at once be verified. For such emissaries no systematic search of any kind has so far been instituted. Nor is it to the interest of those concerned in working the actually known mines that their number should be augmented.

The diamond industry is a huge monopoly—a monopoly virtually world-wide and complete. Its establishment raised a ‘diamond king’ to the throne of Cape Colony. Innumerable obstacles barred the way; they could have been removed or surmounted by no lesser man than Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Through his initiative a policy of amalgamation was adopted; through his energy it was consistently pursued. At last, in 1889, the De Beers Consolidated Mines Company started on its notable career. A few figures will suffice to indicate the extent of the operations over which it presides. The weight of diamonds annually brought into the market from India and Brazil previously to 1870 averaged 60,000 carats. During the twenty ensuing years 43,000,000 carats were produced by South Africa alone. The total produce from India, prehistoric and historic, down to 1896 is estimated at 10,000,000 carats; Brazil, which opened its stores in 1727, yielded in 169 years 12,000,000; South Africa, in nineteen years, 57,000,000 carats; * to say nothing of the uncounted and incalculable drain through illicit channels. The declared value shipped amounted by the end of 1895 to 74,210,000*l.*; and already in 1883 26,000,000*l.* worth had been transmitted through the colonial post-offices. At present the yearly export represents a value of more than four and a half million pounds sterling. It is not left to the hazard of diggers’ luck. The De Beers Corporation strictly controls the output. No glutting of the market is possible. Supply and demand are kept in such steady equipoise that the price vibrates indeed, but cannot to any serious extent rise or fall. The absorbing faculty of the public meantime is enormous and persistent. It is stimulated by what has been called the ‘democratisation’ of the diamond. The premier gem is no longer the appanage of great families, but of great fortunes. A skilful ‘deal’ on the Stock Exchange, a successful ‘corner’ at Chicago, a lucky hit in railways, are celebrated by the prompt purchase of many-faceted crystals. ‘Old Folinsbee’s daughter’ was a typical case. Just ‘a strike of pay-gravel,’ and forthwith the ‘Lily of Poverty

* De Launay, ‘Les Diamants du Cap,’ p. 6.

'Flat' was transformed into 'the belle of the season,' 'be-diamonded out of all reason,' whose

'hair was done up in a cue.'

If the unification of South African mines was a master-stroke of financial policy, the 'rigging of diamonds' it made possible is an equally distinguished masterpiece of trade manipulation. A justifiable one, in our opinion, regard being had to the entirely superfluous nature of the commodity dealt with. The public at large suffers small discomfort from the enhanced cost to plutocrats of prismatic array for their wives and daughters. Yet the combination, dexterous though it was, must have failed had it not been adventitiously aided and abetted. No sooner, as it happened, was the copious South African stream of diamond-supply turned on, than the Brazilian spring began to dry up. The *cascalho*, or river-gravels of Minas Geraes, are no longer worth the cost of exploitation. Their opulence is a thing of the past. As virgin ground, the shingle strewing the plateaux invites experiments. But to be even possibly remunerative, they should be conducted on a great scale; and the speculation would be risky, if not desperate, of investing capital in monster hydraulic machines for sifting and washing the *gorgulha* of Cocaes or Bom Sucesso.

In India, the epoch of approximate exhaustion arrived some centuries ago. Systematic mining has long been abandoned. Diamonds are now only met with sporadically in the river-beds of the Deccan, and barely in sufficient plenty to meet native demands. Practically none leave the country. Australian and Bornean stones are heard of, but rarely seen; the De Beers Consolidated can afford to ignore them. Their competition, but for a curious circumstance, would have been more serious.

Crystallised carbon and boron—an allied form of matter—are the hardest of known substances. Glass and steel are soft and yielding by comparison. Sir William Crookes showed a striking experimental illustration of this property in the theatre of the Royal Institution. A pair of steel blocks enclosing a diamond were tightly jammed together by hydraulic power. On their separation, and its removal, the stone proved to have left a cast of itself in the dense core of the metal. The countervailing defect of this quality is intractability; and it is carried to an extreme in the diamonds of New South Wales. They are scattered pretty freely through the alluvial drifts of the River Macintyre at

Inverell; they are white and flawless, but absolutely unworkable. Strenuously recalcitrant to the shaping efforts of the wheel, they serve admirably for the armature of boring-engines. The function of ornament is not for them; and they sell, accordingly, at the price of bort, or wastrels.

Unknown diamond-fields may, however, at any time be opened up, and the centre of gravity of the trade, which in the course of a century and half has shifted twice from side to side of the globe, may be displaced to a fourth continent.

‘To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new’

has been its tradition so far, and will perhaps be the rule of its future vicissitudes. Then the mining conditions in South Africa may—indeed they must—deteriorate. For, although the pipes be fathomless, and stocked to repletion, yet there are limits to the depth at which it pays to delve; and certain sections of ‘blue ground,’ at a relatively high level, have already been found unprofitable. Nevertheless, there are probably at the present moment more diamonds above ground at Kimberley than all the multi-millionaires who may dominate Wall Street during the next triennium will care to possess. The depositing floors at Kimberley are several square miles in extent. They are covered deeply with excavated material in process of weathering; since it can be brought only by many months of exposure to sun and rain to loosen its close grip upon its crystalline enclosures. The value of this *débris* is reckoned by millions sterling; and the Garden of the Hesperides was an unfenced *parterre* compared with the vigilantly defended area it desolates.

There is another source of diamonds besides fiery underground pools and electrically heated furnaces. They arrive from space in meteorites. On September 22, 1896, a rocky mass fell from the sky at Novy Urej, in the Government of Penza, Siberia. Composed of olvine and bronzite, with a carbonaceous admixture, it shares the uncommon mineralogical character of ‘Kimberlite.’ Nor was it in this respect exceptional. The peculiarities of the ‘blue ground’ have been adverted to by many experts as distinctly meteoric. And meteorites are unanimous in claiming affinity with rocks of profoundly subterranean origin. The more deeply the crust of the earth is penetrated, in fact, the closer the resemblance is seen to be. Carbon in some shape occurs in

most of them—combined or uncombined, ‘occluded’ as gas, as an amorphous or a laminated solid. In the crystalline shape its cosmic occurrence was unsuspected until MM. Jerofeieff and Latchinoff pried into the recesses of the Penza aerolite. One-tenth of its weight of four pounds proved to be true diamond. The discovery has been amply confirmed. Transparent crystals of very minute size, but approving themselves as of the requisite quality by every imaginable criterion, were later identified by Weinschenk in a specimen plumped down from some distant world at Ava, in Hungary, in 1846; and the ‘cliftonite’ of the Youndegin and Crosley’s Creek meteorites—Australian both—described by Fletcher in 1887* as a novel kind of graphitic carbon, was probably diamond transformed by heat. There are many varieties of graphite, some scarcely differing from compacted lamp-black, some showing a high degree of structural finish, but none that tend to bridge the gap between carbon and diamond. At some definite point a marked internal change supervenes, accompanied by a great increase of density and a reversal of electrical qualities. Meteoric graphite, however, even when not reverted diamond, frequently bears unmistakeable traces of having been deposited at an exceedingly high temperature, and from a fused mass of metal. Only powerful pressure was needed to give it the supreme quality difficult of attainment by matter as by men.

Questionable, yet highly curious, is the instance now to be related. In March 1891, a mining firm at Albuquerque, New Mexico, received notice from a prospector in Arizona that he had discovered a vein of metallic iron near Cañon Diablo. An assayer in Colorado was struck with the slag-like appearance of a sample of the ore examined by him; and the late Dr. Foote, of Philadelphia, promptly announced the meteoric nature of some fragments which chanced to reach his hands.† They were pitted and scarred, as if through the dilapidating effects of atmospheric resistance; while their nickeliferous composition and specialties of interior texture seemed strongly to favour the extra-terrestrial hypothesis. The cavities of this peculiar mineral harboured various forms of carbon, including black and white diamonds. Their scale was small; none of them reached the span of a millimetre; but they were of the true stock.

* Mineralogical Magazine, vol. vii. p. 121.

† Nature, vol. xlv. p. 178.

Their quality was vouched for at Paris * as unhesitatingly as at Philadelphia. The tidings raised no small stir; specimens of the Cañon Diablo iron were in request for mineralogical cabinets all over the world; and since many tons of it lay derelict round the base of Sunset Knoll, they were disseminated without stint. Closer inspections of the locality, however, occasioned misgivings as to their aerial descent. In blocks and broken pieces they strew an area about five miles across, in the midst of which a kind of walled crater—'Sunset Knoll,' *alias* 'Crater Mountain'—rises to 432 feet above the plain. The rampart is not of igneous construction; it is built out of the local sandstones and limestones, uplifted into sheer precipices by some strange convulsion. That the metallic wreckage has more than a casual relation to the crater is palpably evident; nor is the view even plausible that they are the spray of a meteoric wave, which here struck the earth in some past millennium—the splinters of a formidable mass, the impact of which scooped out a circus three-quarters of a mile in diameter, to a depth of 600 feet. Clearly, indeed, the thrust was upward, not downward; the strata were not battered in from without, but upheaved by some bursting power from within. Sunset Knoll is literally a 'crater of elevation.' The similar structure of the Kimberley pipes at once recurs to the mind; and the analogy is undoubtedly true and complete. But the Arizona explosion was on a grander scale than any of those concerned with the creation of the South African mines. The multitude and massiveness of its products give a measure of its vehemence. They are all but certainly represented by the supposed meteoric remnants at Cañon Diablo. These must now be admitted to be earth-born, not sky-sent, while their close resemblance to the Ovifak irons intimates their ejection from a corresponding subterranean depth. We seem thus to be left—at least for the present—without any means of discriminating between true aerolites and home-made minerals, except where visible and authentic falls are concerned. This is, no doubt, a technical inconvenience; yet the interests of scientific truth stand higher than those of scientific classification.

The Cañon Diablo diamonds possess, nevertheless, a particular interest of their own. They serve as a linking

* Friedel, 'Comptes Rendus,' t. cxv. p. 1037; Moissan, 'Le Four Electrique,' p. 138.

instance. They exhibit, on the one side, all the characteristics of cosmic gems; on the other, those of manufactured crystals. They assure us that in the bowels of the earth, in the electric furnace, and on the unknown bodies disintegrated into meteoric dust, similar conditions have prevailed, or do prevail. Everywhere alike, carbon crystallised out from an intensely hot ferric solution under great pressure. The recipe for diamond-making is the same in the Sirian as in the Solar system. The Universe is one, chemically and physically. No minutest particle of matter can deviate from the laws of order imposed upon it; each acts 'according to its kind;' and the 'kinds' of matter are identical here and at the furthest verge of the Milky Way, and will continue to be identical until the æons of creation come to their appointed end.

- ART. III.—1. *The Final Report of the Royal Commission on Vaccination.* Appendix VI.: Dr. Sidney Coupland's 'Report on the Leicester Epidemic, 1892-3.' Appendix VII.: Dr. Sidney Coupland's 'Report on Gloucester Epidemic, 1895-6.'
2. *The Milroy Lectures (1898) on Vaccination: its Natural History and Pathology.* By Dr. S. MONCKTON COPEMAN. London: 1899.
3. *A Review of the Statement of the Dissentients to the Report of the Royal Commission on Vaccination.* By JOHN C. McVAIL, M.D. London: 1897.
4. *Vaccination Vindicated.* By JOHN C. McVAIL, M.D. London: 1887.
5. *The Story of the Gloucester Epidemic.* By FRANCIS T. BOND, M.D. Lond. London: 1897.
6. *The Vaccination Act, 1898.*

THE controversy that has been carried on for the last half-century or more, as to the value of vaccination and of vaccination legislation, throws a curious light upon the importance of the study of history. It is one of the functions of history, worthy of its name, to hand down the experience of the past to those living under the altered conditions of a later age. We have to know how people lived and died before our own days if we are to rightly understand the problems of the present. It is impossible, in the case before us, to form a sound judgement about vaccination upon the data supplied by our own experience. The subject must be illuminated by a study of the past, or it will remain dark. It is easy to realise how, to the toiling artisan or factory hand of a northern town, acquainted only with things that have come under his own immediate observation, special legislation with regard to one disease only—and that probably one which he has never seen—may appear superfluous, or even unjustifiable. He has to be taught a certain amount of social history before he can understand the basis on which vaccination legislation rests.

What, then, is the record of history as to the necessity for such legislation? It is unnecessary for our purpose to enter upon this subject from an antiquarian standpoint. It will suffice to recall a few of the undisputed facts from the records of the two centuries immediately preceding the

vaccination era, with possibly an occasional glance at the subject as known in still earlier times.

Till within a year or two of the end of the last century four great plagues were the terror of parents—measles, smallpox, whooping cough, and scarlet fever. Of the four, the last was the least deadly, the least common, and the least infectious. Smallpox was the most common and the most dreaded. It attacked almost every one exposed to the infection; it killed at least one in seven of those attacked, in many epidemics as many as one in three. It was often an illness of the gravest suffering—when it did not kill it left many of its victims blinded, and the large majority of them terribly disfigured. It was rightly described as ‘the worst of human maladies.’ One thing only can be said to lighten the picture, and that is, that the disease was in a large measure self-protective. The children who struggled through it did not, as a rule, have it again. They were protected by their early sufferings, so that where smallpox returned again and again in a community, the adult population was, to a great extent, immune, most of them having had it in childhood. No doubt there were isolated country districts and out-of-the-way corners where a large proportion of adults had escaped meeting the infection either in childhood or later life. Infection then, as now, depended upon the co-existence of two factors—the contagious poison and the presence in contact with it of unprotected people. Adults who had not gained immunity by going through the disease in childhood were almost sure, if they moved about the world at all, to meet the contagion and to take it in after life. The immense social effect of the adults being in great part immune to a second attack of the disease is seen if we compare the smallpox epidemics in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with those which have occurred when the disease was taken to new places, where no one had had it previously, and where, therefore, none were immune. Prescott, in his ‘*History of Mexico*,’ describes the ravages of the disease in 1520. He says:—

‘Maxixca, the old Lord of Tlascala, had fallen a victim to that terrible epidemic, the smallpox, which was now sweeping over the land like fire over the prairies, smiting down prince and peasant, and adding another to the long train of woes that followed the march of the white man. . . . It was imported into the country, it is said, by a negro slave in the fleet of Narvaez. . . . From Cempoalla it spread rapidly over the neighbouring country, and reached the Aztec capital, where Montezuma’s successor, Cuiclahuac, fell one of its first victims.

Thence it swept down towards the borders of the Pacific, leaving its path strewn with the dead bodies of the natives, who, in the strong language of a contemporary, perished in heaps, like cattle stricken with the murrain.' Vol. ii. pp. 368 9.

Catlin, in his History of the North American Indians, mentions that, of a population of 12,000,000, 6,000,000 fell victims to smallpox. In another place he says 'each tribe has had this exotic disease in turn, and in a few months has lost one-half or more of its numbers.' Such statements as these need not be taken quite literally, the estimates being probably founded upon very imperfect data. That the mortality was frightfully large cannot, however, be doubted. The Icelandic epidemic in 1707 is said, from records furnished by the Government of Denmark, to have killed 18,000 out of 50,000 of the inhabitants—i.e. 36 per cent. In Greenland, in 1734, there was a great epidemic. Sir John Simon says that from 6,000 to 7,000—i.e. nearly two-thirds of the population—were destroyed. In Mexico and in Greenland there is no history of any earlier epidemic; in Iceland there had been none for a number of years, probably not since the epidemic of 1616. There would practically be, therefore, in all three cases, no section of the population protected by a previous attack. How severe a scourge smallpox was towards the end of the seventeenth century is plainly seen in the pages of Evelyn and Pepys. From 1684 to 1695, Evelyn's Diary abounds in references to the disease and to its terrible results:

'December 1684: The small pox very prevalent and mortal. March 7, 1685: My daughter Mary was taken with small pox, and there soon was found no hope of her recovery. A great affliction to me.'

A few days later there is mention of her death:

'Oh! dear, sweet child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitterness of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent? . . . Never can I say enough, oh dear, my dear Child, whose memory is so precious to me! . . . Thus lived and died . . . the joy of my life.'

She was nineteen years old. Three months later it is noted that

'Mr. Hussey, who made love to my late dear child, died now of the same cruel disease.' On August 27, 1685: 'My daughter Elizabeth died of the small pox soon after her marriage.' April 15, 1686: 'The Archbishop of York now died of small pox.' December 1694: 'The small pox increased exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queen

died of it on the 28th.' January 13, 1695 : 'The deaths by small pox increased to 500 more than in the preceding week.'

This was for London only. Pepys's Diary tells in his less striking way the same sad story.

The history of the deaths caused by smallpox among the royal families of Europe is a further confirmation of its great prevalence and severity. Mention has already been made of the death of Queen Mary, the wife of William III., in her thirty-third year. The King also lost from the same disease both his parents, his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and two cousins. He had it himself very severely, and recovered with a constitution damaged for life. In Austria it killed Joseph I., and in the eighteenth century two empresses, six other members of the imperial family, an Elector of Saxony, and the last Elector of Bavaria. Also, a Dauphin (1711) and a King (1774) of France; a Queen (1741) of Sweden, and an Emperor (1727) of Russia.

Ben Jonson's epigram is another piece of evidence pointing the same way :—

' Envious and foule disease, can there not be
One Beautie in an age and free from thee ?'

If, leaving these general statements, we try to get a notion of the real amount of mortality in England which was caused by smallpox in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we are met by the fact that no register of births was kept till the present century, and that the only record of deaths up till the year 1838 were the bills of mortality or lists of burials kept for all the parochial burying-grounds. In these the causes of death are given mostly on the authority of the 'ancient females' or 'searchers,' whose duty it was to convey the information as to the cause of death to the custodian of the ground.

The London bills of mortality were first compiled by order of Thomas Cromwell about 1538, and the systematic keeping of them was begun by the Company of Parish Clerks in 1593. The charter of the Clerks' Company in 1611 directs that 'each parish clerk shall bring to the 'Clerks' Hall weekly a note of all christenings and burials.' Obviously any estimate of the population arrived at by such methods cannot be at all exact, but Sir John Simon's conclusion in the elaborate and valuable report he wrote in 1857, and presented to the Commission again in 1889, was that from 1660 to 1679 smallpox in London killed 4,170 per million of inhabitants, and that from 1746 to 1755 the rate was about 3,000 per million. To estimate

correctly the smallpox mortality rate for all England is still more difficult. It would certainly be much lower than in London, and in some isolated parts of the country the disease was probably often absent for many years in succession. A good many provincial towns were ahead of London then, as they are now, in certain directions, and in them records were kept of the population, and also of the causes of death. Dr. McVail gave particulars of many of these to the Commission.* The death-rate from smallpox per million was 2,700 in Boston, which is said by its rector 'to be a remarkably healthy place;' it was 3,300 in Chester, which is described by Dr. Haygarth as 'a place of incredible healthiness;' in Glasgow it was 4,700; in the small provincial town of Kilmarnock it was 4,000; in Manchester 4,300; in Liverpool 6,400—all per million. The register in Leeds parish church shows that in the year 1798 more than a third of the total mortality was due to smallpox. The numbers are 272 out of 779. These provincial figures, based upon better records than we have for London, justify the suspicion that the mortality rates as estimated for London were below what they should be, rather than at all above it. The population of London in 1801, when the first census was taken, was rather less than three-quarters of a million, with a smallpox mortality of over 3,000. This also points to 4,000 per million being nearer the correct estimate than the lower one suggested by Sir John Simon.

The small town of Ware furnishes us with an interesting census, taken with the special view of recording the facts as concerning smallpox, in itself a piece of evidence as to the importance of the disease at that time. The report is contained in the Royal Society's volume of manuscript papers on inoculation. It is entitled 'An account of the number of families and people there are in each street in Ware and that part of Amwell parish which joins to Ware, which by travellers is taken for Ware. With an account of how many people had the smallpox in the year 1722, how many had it before, and how many died of that distemper in the above-mentioned year. By Mr. Anthony Fage, of Ware.' Then we come to the table. The total number of people was 2,515. The second column is 'Had the smallpox before, 1601.' The third column is 'Had the smallpox this time, 612.' The fifth column is 'Died

* See vol. vi. p. 271, &c.

‘of the smallpox, 72,’ and the fourth column, which gives the rest of the entire population, is headed ‘Those who have to have the smallpox, 302.’ That accounts for the entire population of Ware.

Evidence abounds pointing to the all but universal liability to the disease. Servants were not taken unless they were protected by having already had smallpox. Advertisements for servants mention in the forefront of requirements that they must have had smallpox. Not to be pock-marked was a distinction. A coiner wanted by the police is advertised for as having ‘no pock-holes.’ Burns had smallpox in his youth, and was much marked. An old lady in Edinburgh was describing him some few years ago to a physician still living, who spoke of this, and said how much it must have spoilt his good looks. She said, ‘Yes, he was marked with ‘smallpox, but in those days we thought nothing of that — ‘every one was marked.’ Sir Gilbert Blane, a leading physician in London in the latter half of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, told a Committee of the House of Commons that an adult person who had not had the smallpox was scarcely to be met with or heard of at the end of the last century. In his published works, speaking of inoculation, he says:—

‘Such as have not had the smallpox in the early period of life are not only rendered unhappy, but likewise in great measure unfit for sustaining many of the most useful and important offices. Few people would choose even to hire a servant who had not had the smallpox, far less purchase a slave who had the chance of dying of this disease. How could a physician or surgeon who had never had the smallpox himself attend others under that malady? How deplorable is the situation of females who arrive at mature age without having had the smallpox . . . how often is the affectionate mother forced to leave her home and abandon her children at the very time when her care is most necessary! Yet, should parental affection get the better of her fears, the consequences would often prove fatal.’

Sir Gilbert Blane also said he thought smallpox had killed 100 for every one who had ever died of plague. Nor were the deaths and disfigurement due to the disease its only evil. In a considerable number of cases blindness was the direct result of a severe attack.

We may try to make the figures as to the extent of the evil in the eighteenth century that which our minds can realise by comparing the mortality as given above with the deaths from scarlet fever in our own times. For twenty years, from 1875 to 1894, the average annual mortality from

scarlet fever in England and Wales was 430 a million, which, if Dr. Farr's estimate be accepted, was only one-tenth of the smallpox mortality.

Moreover, those who struggled through the illness without loss of sight and without serious impairment of constitutional vigour, had been for the most part through a time of great suffering. Few illnesses are as painful as smallpox of even medium severity. It must, however, never be forgotten that the universality of the contagion in one sense diminished its terrors. An enormous number of children died from it, but those who did not die were in great measure protected in after life, so that everywhere there was a large proportion of the adult population who were not likely to take the disease again. It was this that spared England a repetition of the horrors that had been seen in Mexico, Iceland, and Greenland.

The first attempt at doing anything systematic in England to check the ravages of this terrible disease was made in the year 1720. It had been known for long in China that by putting some of the variolous matter under the skin of a healthy person the disease was produced, but in a form usually much milder than when the poison was taken in the natural way. In the East this process was known as 'buying the smallpox,' and, curiously enough, Dr. McVail finds that the same expression was to be found in Wales and in some other parts of Western Europe, as if the practice of inoculation had at some remote time been once before known on this side of the world under its Eastern name, and then by degrees forgotten and disused. The credit of its reintroduction belongs to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband was at that time ambassador at Constantinople. Lady Mary heard of the method, and after a good deal of inquiry she determined to make it known in England. Considering how often the opponents of vaccination have the hardihood to say that doctors support it for the sake of the fees it brings them (forgetting how much more lucrative smallpox must have been in the unvaccinated days than vaccination can be to any one nowadays), it is amusing to find Lady Mary writing thus to a friend as to the spirit in which she anticipated that the doctors would receive her suggestion. She says:—

'I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it if I knew any of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue for the good of mankind. But that distemper is too beneficial to them not to expose

to all their resentment the hardy wight that should undertake to put an end to it. Perhaps, if I live to return, I may, however, have courage to war with them.'

Poor doctors! Self-interest was supposed then to make them cherish smallpox, while now it leads them to do all they can to suppress it! Lady Mary was as good as her word, and as a test of sincerity she had her little daughter inoculated on her return to England. But the suggestion was not quickly taken into popular favour. The experience of the first few years was somewhat discouraging. Up to 1728 only 897 cases were inoculated in England, and of these 17 died, which was disappointing, as safety had been promised. After this it was out of fashion till 1740, when it was again revived. Two things were obviously against the general usefulness of inoculation. The disease produced in this way was not always taken in a mild form, and even when it was it was contagious. Gradually, as time went on, the first drawback was in great measure removed. By taking the variolous lymph earlier, by introducing it in a better way, and by careful regulation of the patient's life before the operation, the subsequent illness was made exceedingly light. About 1763, two brothers named Sutton enjoyed immense popularity as safe inoculators, and they boasted of having had 100,000 cases with (as is said) no deaths. The other disadvantage of inoculation was not so easily removed. Every case of smallpox produced by inoculation was capable of giving a much more severe form of the disease to all unprotected people exposed to its influence. How far this result actually followed from inoculation it is impossible now to determine. Clearly the only way to guard against spreading the disease broadcast was for all inoculated persons to be strictly quarantined till they were no longer contagious. With an adult population in large measure protected by having survived a previous attack of smallpox, it would not have been very difficult to carry out such a system of quarantine in the case of children and young people who had so far escaped the natural form of the disease. They might have lived in camps or hospitals tended by protected people, and not been allowed to mix with those who were not protected till they could do so without risk. Where such precautions as these were taken inoculation must have been a great gain, and where they were not taken it must have protected the individual inoculated at the cost of the community in which he lived, The Scotch

people, with their excellent practical sense, seem to have been able to get all the good possible out of inoculation then, as they do now out of vaccination. Dr. McVail brought under the notice of the Commission an old book, 'Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland,' which extended from 1790 to 1799. Sir John had asked the parish ministers of Scotland for information on a number of details about their parishes. Those of them who refer to health at all nearly all speak of smallpox and of the mitigating influence of inoculation. Dr. McVail says:—

'In Jedburgh the statement is "that smallpox was mitigated by inoculation being of late very general and very successful. . . . The smallpox was justly dreaded about twenty years ago, but as inoculation is now generally adopted that disease is become less fatal." From Skye: "In former times the smallpox frequently prevailed to a very great height, and sometimes almost depopulated the country. The people in general are now so well convinced of the propriety of inoculation that it is become the practice universally, and many useful lives are saved by it." From Shetland: "Population has of late years considerably increased. For this two reasons may be assigned—(1) the system of parcelling out the land into very small farms, and (2) the amazing success with which inoculation has been attended. Formerly the smallpox occasioned the most dreadful ravages in these islands, frequently carrying off a fifth part of the inhabitants. Now hardly any suffer by this disorder." Then at Blackford, in Perth, it is stated: "Formerly the smallpox never appeared in the parish without proving fatal to one out of three whom they seized, but the country people have been taught to change their way of managing their children in that disease, and some are so hardy as to inoculate their children with their own hand, so that very few die of that disease." (Report vi. p. 286.)

These were the statements of parish ministers relating the impression the facts had made upon their minds, and as they wrote quite independently of one another their testimony, though not based upon anything more trustworthy than general observation, is worthy of attention.

In the year 1769 Edward Jenner, a medical student from Berkeley, Gloucestershire, came to London and lived with John Hunter as one of his house pupils. Hunter was then forty-two years of age, Jenner nearly twenty-one. Hunter was constantly questioning Nature in one direction or another. He had a genius for observing facts and putting them into their true relation with each other. Intellectually he was immensely Jenner's superior. He had also the qualities which made him the close and lifelong friend of the younger man. Jenner, no doubt, learnt methods of

thought and observation from Hunter, 'the dear man,' as he ever after called him. Before leaving his native county Jenner had been struck one day by a girl saying to him in his master's surgery, smallpox being in the neighbourhood, 'I shall not take smallpox, I have had cowpox.' He repeated this to Hunter, who said to him, 'Do not think, try; be patient, be accurate;' meaning, no doubt, test it by experiment. The tradition thus brought under Jenner's notice was widely spread in all the dairy and cheesemaking districts of England, and even in Ireland and part of the Continent. It has been found to have prevailed in as many as eighteen English counties. During the thirty years that elapsed between Jenner's first acquaintance with it and his being able to prove its truth the practice of inoculation was very extensive, and this would lead to the accumulation of evidence in support of the tradition. A doctor anxious, for his own credit, to succeed in the operation of inoculation, would certainly notice every failure in its performance which he had to record, and if told that the failure was due to the patient having previously had cowpox, he would not forget it. Dr. McVail gave to the Commission much interesting evidence bearing upon the wide diffusion and strength of the tradition about cowpox. Pearson's 'Enquiry into the History of Cow Pox' was published soon after Jenner's book appeared. Dr. McVail quotes thus from it:—

'Mr. Rolph says there is not a medical practitioner of even little experience in Gloucestershire, or scarce a dairy farmer, who does not know from his own experience, or that of others, that persons who have suffered the cowpox are exempted from the agency of the variolous poison. . . . While Mr. Rolph practised at Thornbury he thinks not fewer than threescore instances of failure in attempting to produce the smallpox inoculation occurred in his own practice, all of which were persons who had been previously affected with cowpox. . . . So, too, Mr. Bragge, many years before, had inoculated over fifty people, of whom three had had cowpox, and these "he therefore charged with an abundance of matter, but to no purpose." . . . Mr. Downe said, "A few years ago, when I inoculated a great number for the smallpox, I remarked that I could not by any means infect one or two of them, and on inquiry I was informed they had previously been infected with the cowpox; some few families who had been infected with the cowpox were repeatedly inoculated with the matter of the smallpox and without effect."' (Report vi. p. 289.)

From the time when the tradition was mentioned to Jenner he pondered over it. He lived his life as a busy country doctor for nearly thirty years. But in 1780 the pondering led to his getting a new idea about cowpox. It

occurred to him that if the tradition we have spoken of could be accepted as true, the protection derived from cowpox might be transferred from one person to another, and then that every one could be made safe against smallpox. Can we not imagine the delight that such a conception as this would bring to one who knew, as every doctor did then, the misery and suffering caused by smallpox? Jenner was afraid to mention it publicly; but one day, when riding with his intimate friend Gardiner from Gloucester to Newport, he confided it to him. Gardiner says that Jenner did so 'with deep and anxious emotion,' and that he said: 'Gardiner, I have entrusted to you a most important matter, which I firmly believe may prove to be of inestimable value to the human race.' He added: 'Say nothing of this; if it fails all would laugh at me, and something untoward may happen.' For sixteen years more he brooded over the idea and watched for an opportunity of testing its truth. At last it came. In May 1796 he was able to take vaccine lymph from a person who had contracted cowpox, and, with it, to inoculate a boy named James Phipps, who had not had smallpox. The inoculation was successful, and vaccine vesicles followed. Six weeks later he wrote to Gardiner to tell him this, and he added, 'But now comes the most delightful part of my story. On July 1 the boy was inoculated for smallpox, but without any result.' Jenner, after this, went on passing the vaccine lymph from one person to another, and, later, inoculating them with smallpox till he had repeated the first experiment many times, always with the same result: those he had vaccinated could not receive the smallpox contagion. Two years were occupied in this way; then he came to London and published his 'Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ: a disease discovered in some of the western counties of England, particularly Gloucestershire, and known by the name of the Cowpox.'

Two things are worth noting in this title. The disease named cowpox had been discovered, but Jenner does not even imply that he was its discoverer; his part has been to study and inquire into its causes and effects. He ventures, however, to give cowpox a scientific name. He boldly calls it 'smallpox of the cow.' He believed that the two diseases, cowpox and smallpox, were essentially from one stock, and that the poison of smallpox had been modified or attenuated, as we should say now, by being passed through the constitution of the cow. We shall deal later with the question how

far this view has been confirmed or disproved by subsequent research and experiment. The 'Inquiry' was no sooner published than it was assailed by hostile critics. They did not wait to study evidence then; they have not studied it with open minds since. They wished to oppose, and they did oppose. The clergy, in, let us hope, only a few cases, preached against vaccination, that mothers would see their children's faces turning into cows' faces, and horns growing from their heads. One went so far as to affirm that vaccination was 'the veritable Antichrist.' A debating society in London is said to have proposed the question for discussion, 'Which of these two propositions affords the greatest proof of human credulity, that light can be obtained from gas, or that protection from smallpox can come from vaccination?' But these were the criticisms and jibes of a small minority of peculiarly constituted minds. The majority of mankind, when Jenner had fairly established his facts, welcomed with enthusiasm and joy the deliverance he had brought them. Much remained to be slowly learnt by experience. When to take the lymph from the vaccine vesicle, how long must elapse before its protective influence would be felt, how long it would be maintained, if one vesicle was as efficacious as four or more, if the modified disease was ever in itself a serious source of danger? Probably Jenner and his early disciples scarcely realised the importance of all these points; their attention was concentrated on the question, Have we in vaccination an escape from the demon of smallpox? There would not be room in their minds for much more than this at first. What we may almost describe as a shout of gratitude and joy went up from the civilised world when the news reached them that protection from smallpox was made possible. Honours poured in upon Jenner. Among these we are told that Jenner appealed to Napoleon on behalf of a Gloucestershire man taken prisoner in the wars. As Napoleon wrote the order of release he said, 'I can refuse *nothing* to that man.' Jenner himself vaccinated a large number of children every day. Three hundred are said to have waited at his door each morning. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is certain that he built a little summer-house in his garden to avoid bringing the crowd into the house, and that 'The Temple of Vaccina,' as he called it, still remains where he put it.

One of the most interesting episodes in the early history of vaccination is the method adopted by the Spanish

Government to convey the newly found boon to the Spanish-American dominions. The ravages smallpox had made at the time of the conquest of Mexico had not been forgotten. Later epidemics, too, had been frequent. The difficulty of conveying the precious lymph across the Atlantic was considerable. It was not a time of quick voyages, of capillary tubes, or refrigerated chambers. An ingenious expedient was discovered. Children who had not had the smallpox were to be sent to Spanish-America. One or two were to be vaccinated each week during the voyage, and in this way the lymph would arrive in an active and fresh condition. The Supplement to the Madrid 'Gazette,' dated October 14, 1806, contains the following account of the expedition which had started from Corunna on November 20, 1803:—

'On Sunday September 7th last, Dr. Francis Xavier Balnis, surgeon extraordinary to the king, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand on the occasion of his return from a voyage round the world, executed with the sole object of carrying to all the possessions of the Crown of Spain situated beyond the seas the inestimable gift of vaccine inoculation.

'The expedition consisted of three frigates, with several physicians, and twenty-two children who had not had the smallpox. . . . The children, many of whom were very small, were placed under the care of a matron, and the greatest attention was paid to their cleanliness and comfort. At New Spain they made a fresh start with twenty-six more children. Material for vaccination was lavishly distributed through the northern part of Spanish-America, and in each capital a central society was formed. Half of the expedition went to the Philippine Islands, Macao, and Canton, and the other half to Peru. This section was wrecked, but happily the subdirector, his three physicians, and the children came to no harm. The expedition was often publicly received by the bishops, military governors, and persons of the greatest distinction, who took into their arms the little children who were to carry the cowpox to the indigenous Americans and the Malays of the Philippine Islands, and returned thanks to God for having been the witnesses of so happy an event.' *

It is now necessary to consider what was the immediate effect of vaccination in the early years of the present century. In doing so we must bear in mind that throughout the civilised world there were two influences which aided vaccination more powerfully at that time than they have ever done since. Every adult person knew from personal or family experience what smallpox was. Every one had lost relatives from it; he had seen what it involved. There is no such lesson as to the value of vaccination as an

* *Vide* 'British Medical Journal,' May, 1896.

experience of smallpox; it was a lesson that all had learnt. Moreover, as has been already said, the adult population were in very large measure protected by having survived smallpox in childhood, so that when the children and young people were vaccinated a large proportion of the entire population was protected. These two influences worked powerfully for the triumph of vaccination in the early years of the century. There seem to have been no vaccination laws; careless and indolent people were successfully controlled by public opinion and by indirect pressure. In Copenhagen, for instance, in the twelve years before vaccination was practised, 5,500 people had died of smallpox—an average of 458 each year. From 1802 to 1818 there were in all, from the same cause, only 158 deaths, in spite of the absence of direct compulsion as to vaccination. No child was admitted into the public schools, no one could be confirmed, or apprenticed to a trade, no one could be married, without proving that he had either had the smallpox or had been vaccinated. The average mortality dropped from 458 to 9·8 as the result. Anspach, in Bavaria, furnishes a similar example. Here the annual average mortality from smallpox had been 500. In 1800 there was a severe epidemic, which killed 1,609, and of course also protected some 5,000 or 6,000 of people who survived the illness. In the next eleven years there was a total mortality from smallpox of five only. Much the same thing occurred in many English towns. At Norwich, for example, from 1810 to 1818 there was scarcely any smallpox; not a case from 1813 to 1818. Gradually the knowledge and memory of smallpox died out, the public appreciation of the value of infant vaccination diminished, the children vaccinated in the earliest years of the century were outgrowing their protection, the adults protected by a survived attack gradually passed away, and as soon as the contagion was introduced a large number of unprotected people were prepared to receive it. The Norwich epidemic of 1819 was a severe one. Cross estimates that one-thirteenth of the entire population suffered; there were 530 deaths.

This brings us to the question, How far is the protection of vaccination absolute and lasting?

It is a familiar fact about almost all the contagious diseases that, as a rule, one attack protects against subsequent ones. How this immunity is gained no one even now knows with precision. The view formerly held was that something, in each illness of this kind, had been removed

from the body, and that while this element was wanting the contagious germs could not again develop. The more modern view is that in each of the self-protective contagious illnesses an antidote is formed in the course of the development of the tens of millions of germs which cause the illness, and that the antidote remains and is the protective agent against future attacks. The antidote has, in fact, been produced by the development of the germs, and it is owing to its presence that the illness in question comes to an end. The antidote is probably chemical in nature. It is also certain that the poisons of many contagious diseases can be grown of varying strengths; they can be made by one method of growth more virulent, and by another less so. There is a large amount of evidence in support of the view that smallpox and cowpox both come from the same poison, human smallpox being probably a very virulent development of a milder disease common to several animals. A large number of careful observers have succeeded, though not without difficulty, in inoculating calves with human smallpox, and in getting, after a few removes, vesicles which cannot be distinguished from typical cowpox, and which yield lymph that protects from smallpox. It seems, therefore, to be all but proved that cowpox is only much attenuated smallpox. The protection it gives is due to the production of the same antidote the presence of which, after an attack of smallpox, commonly prevents a second attack of the disease. It is, however, well known that, in a small percentage of persons, even the protection of a previous attack fails, and the disease is again taken. Louis XV. died of a second attack, at sixty-four years of age, having had the disease first at fourteen. The German Vaccination Commission in 1884 considered that in 56,000 cases there had been 88 second attacks, i.e. one in about 636 cases. It is, however, certain that the protection derived from vaccination does not last as long as the protection from the survived disease, the amount of antidote formed being even in efficient vaccination much less than in smallpox itself. The amount varies, too, in more than one way. We may picture to ourselves that so many units of antidote are formed round each vaccine vesicle; there will then be four times as much antidote made with four vesicles as there will be with one. It is also highly probable that, as with the poison, the strength of the antidote is capable of large variations. We have no reason to expect mathematical precision in what is fundamentally a vital process. If,

then, a minimum amount of antidote is needed to make the tissues of an infant able to resist the infection of smallpox, the minimum amount required will almost certainly increase with the child's growth. Also the store of the antidote must be, year by year, consumed. The child each year wants more and possesses less, and a time comes when he has not enough for complete protection. He can take the disease, but there may be, and usually is for a long time, enough of the antidote left to keep the disease from being severe. If by chance he does not come in the way of infection, but goes on consuming his diminishing store of antidote, a time comes when he has none or almost none left; he can then take the disease severely, and he can die from it. The store of antidote should have been replenished by revaccination. It is impossible to say exactly when these stages in the progress from safety to danger are reached. The strength of the antidote as well as its amount varies; the strength of the assailing poison varies no less. Long before vaccination was practised the protean-like character of smallpox was familiarly known. Even in unvaccinated people it is sometimes a mild disease. In the Leicester 1892-93 epidemic the type of disease was for the most part very mild. Of 357 cases 261 were quite mild; among them there was no death; there were 89 confluent cases, with 14 deaths; and only seven malignant cases, with seven deaths. At Gloucester the type of disease was, on the other hand, remarkably severe, as we shall see later.

Jenner was mistaken when he said vaccination would be as lasting a protection against smallpox as a previous attack, and much of the discredit which has fallen upon vaccination may be traced to this mistake. It is unfortunate that he did not realise that time was needed to show how long the protective influence of cowpox would last. He would soon have seen that, even after efficient vaccination, a slow progress away from safety and towards danger is inevitable, and that revaccination, at least once after childhood, is necessary if protection is to be maintained. Bearing these qualifying facts in mind, let us see what vaccination has done.

In Sweden the population and the smallpox mortality have both been known year by year since 1774. Before vaccination the mortality from smallpox for thirty years averaged 2,045 per million. With permissive vaccination from 1802 to 1816 it was reduced to 480; during seventy-seven years of compulsory vaccination the mortality averaged 155 per million; and for ten years ending 1894 it has been

down to 2 per million. In England registration of deaths only dates from 1838, and the first Vaccination Act from 1840. It was made compulsory in 1853, but no efficient machinery was then devised to put the Act in force. In 1861 vaccination officers were permitted to be appointed; in 1871 their appointment was made obligatory, and vaccination was put under the control of the Local Government Board. We have already shown that before the registration of births and deaths any accurate knowledge of the mortality as compared with the population was impossible. In the case of smallpox, mistakes of diagnosis would be rare, but some people would, doubtless, be buried not in the parish churchyard, and would escape notice. If Sir John Simon's estimate as to the smallpox mortality before vaccination—being from 3,000 to 5,000 per million—be accepted as fairly accurate, and if we compare it with the mortality for the ten years ending 1894, we find that for ninety-nine people who died of smallpox in the eighteenth century only one person dies now. Throughout the United Kingdom the population has largely increased, and more especially the urban population. Means of locomotion have also been multiplied. The two conditions, a crowded and a mobile urban population, are those which chiefly favour the spread of smallpox. These conditions are present in the large towns of the United Kingdom, they are much more frequent now than they were fifty years ago, and yet the mortality from the disease has everywhere greatly diminished. It should be remembered, too, that the one great epidemic since vaccination was made obligatory, that of 1871 and 1872, which killed over 23,000 people in England and Wales, was responsible for only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total mortality. In the last century there were thirty-two epidemics, in each of which 10 per cent. of the total mortality was caused by smallpox, so that the 1871 and 1872 epidemic, bad as it was, was less than half as bad as any one of thirty-two epidemics in the century which preceded vaccination. The 1871 and 1872 epidemic also stands alone in its severity since the first very imperfect Vaccination Act was passed. In Prussia vaccination has been enjoined, and revaccination has been compulsory in the army since 1834. Vaccination and revaccination on all of school age have been compulsory since 1874. The mortality has been reduced to 7 per million, and the army has had no smallpox mortality at all for many years.

If we compare the rate of smallpox mortality in the different countries, we see an enormous difference between the well vaccinated and the badly vaccinated populations.

Here is a table, given by Dr. Edwardes, of the mortality rates per million in the five years 1889 to 1893 :—

	Smallpox mortality per million
Germany	2·3
England and Wales	13·6
Chief French towns	147·6
Italy	180·8
Belgium	253
Austria	313
Spain	638
Russia, 3 years only, and including Asiatic Russia	836

In Germany, as has been stated, vaccination and revaccination are both compulsory. In the other countries revaccination was, at that time at least, nowhere enforced.

The age-incidence of smallpox mortality has also been greatly changed by vaccination. Formerly, as we have seen, the adults were the protected class of the community, 96 per cent. of the deaths were those of children under ten years old, while people of from twenty to sixty supplied only 1·16 per cent. of the deaths. Vaccination now protects children much more than adults, in the absence of revaccination, and children under five now supply 3·07 per cent. of the deaths, and adults of from twenty to sixty years of age 77 per cent. We have, in fact, left off thinking of smallpox as a disease of childhood. How can this be explained except as the result of vaccination?

The Royal Commissioners in their final report deal separately with the influence of vaccination in diminishing liability (*a*) to attack, and (*b*) to death if attacked. The attack rate as between the vaccinated and unvaccinated portions of the population requires to be studied with a good deal of care, if false inferences are to be avoided. In spite of the comparatively recent resistance to vaccination, a very large majority of the inhabitants of England and Wales are still in the position of having been once vaccinated. Even in towns where infant vaccination is now in abeyance people of twenty years old and upwards are mostly in the once-vaccinated class, though, if not revaccinated, the protection from their infant vaccination is always diminishing with their increase of age. If we assume, for the sake of keeping the arithmetic simple, that in a given locality 95 per cent. of the population have been once vaccinated, it would follow, if vaccination produced no effect, and if all were equally exposed to the contagion of

smallpox, that for every unvaccinated person there would be nineteen vaccinated ones attacked. But in any one case it would be most difficult to prove that all the twenty had been equally exposed to contagion, and they certainly will not have smallpox if they do not meet the contagion. Take the case of a common lodging house holding 100 people, five of whom were unvaccinated. If a tramp came into the house with unrecognised smallpox, the contagion would be received by those sleeping near him, if unprotected by revaccination, in rates varying with their age and with the quality of their infantine vaccination. But there might be in the house at the time not one unvaccinated person, or the unvaccinated might chance to sleep in another block of the building and not to come at all into contact with the infection. It would then be obviously misleading to say that vaccination was of no use because fifteen or twenty vaccinated people had taken the infection and not one unvaccinated. What the advocates of vaccination believe is that if, in such a case, the 100 people were equally exposed to infection, the five unvaccinated would take the disease, and that probably one of them would die, but that nothing approaching to cent. per cent. of the vaccinated would take it, and that the attack rate among them would be higher in proportion to their age. In studying the attack rates as influenced by vaccination, we must think always of the immense preponderance (numerically) of the once-vaccinated class, and of the age of such persons when attacked. If children under ten, and more especially under five, took smallpox at the rate corresponding to the number of each class in the community, under identical conditions as to exposure, the contention that vaccination protects from attack would have to be abandoned. But it is certain that this is not the case. The following figures are given in the Final Report of the Commissions :—

Table showing the rate of attack in children under ten among the

	Vaccinated		Unvaccinated	
	No. under 10	Attack rate	No. under 10	Attack rate
Sheffield . . .	67,603	0.5 %	2,892	7.8 %
Warrington . . .	633†	4.4 %	55†	51.5 %
Dewsbury . . .	408†	10.2 %	311†	50.8 %
Leicester . . .	78†	2.5 %	283†	35.3 %
Gloucester . . .	272*	8.8 %	1,331†	16.3 %

* In invaded houses.

If we now study the mortality in the attacked we have this table :—

Table showing the proportion of Deaths to Attacks (the fatality rate) in the Vaccinated and Unvaccinated respectively, in children under ten years of age.

	Vaccinated under 10			Unvaccinated under 10		
	Attacks	Deaths	Fatality Rate	Attacks	Deaths	Fatality Rate
Dewsbury .	44	1	2.2 %	171	56	32.1 %
Sheffield .	353	6	1.7 %	228	100	43.9 %
Warrington .	33	2	6 %	32	12	37.5 %
Leicester .	2	0		107	15	14 %
Gloucester .	26	1	3.8 %	680	279	41 %
London .	110	0		228	61	26.7 %

To say that a number of once-vaccinated people take smallpox when exposed to it tells very little, unless the ages are given and the fatality rate. It is universally admitted that the disease will be contracted by a large number of vaccinated people under exposure to the contagion, unless they have been revaccinated, or are young enough to be still under the influence of their infantine vaccination.

The incidence of smallpox mortality on different classes of the community also furnishes decisive proof of the protective influence of vaccination. Doctors, nurses, hospital attendants, all show similar results. But for vaccination doctors would certainly be far more likely to contract smallpox than other people. As, however, they almost invariably protect themselves by vaccination and revaccination, their mortality rate is only as 1 to 5.6 in the whole community. The risk they run of taking contagious fevers, for which no protection is possible, is shown by the fact that their mortality from this cause is 3.68 times as high as that of the general public. In smallpox hospitals and hospital ships the attendants are revaccinated on being engaged, and there is scarcely a case known in which the disease has been contracted, except where this rule has been evaded, or where the revaccination has been unsuccessful, or has been postponed for a few days, during which time the contagion has been received. Smallpox takes usually twelve days to incubate, sometimes more—i.e. the poison is received twelve days before the illness shows itself. The antidote created by vaccination takes usually nine days to develope. The attack of smallpox is not prevented unless

the antidote has had its necessary nine days before the initial fever of smallpox begins. Dr. Gayton reports that, at the smallpox hospital in 1871-77, out of 366 people employed, all but one were revaccinated. The above took it, and at once. The same thing was repeated later. Dr. Marson, in thirty-six years, had no nurse or servant attacked. Since 1871 there was one case at the hospital, the first for sixty years—he had not been revaccinated. Experience of the same kind could be quoted from every smallpox hospital.

Among the Post Office staff in London, averaging 10,504 persons, there was not a single death from smallpox in the ten years 1870-1880, though this included the great epidemic of 1871. They are all revaccinated on appointment.

In the Navy revaccination has been the rule since 1864, in the Army since 1858. In the home force there has been, in twenty-one years, an annual death rate from smallpox of $\cdot 076$ per 10,000 men. In the colonies the rate has been $\cdot 038$ per 10,000 men. In India, where there is much smallpox, and therefore much more exposure to infection, the annual death rate has been nearly $\cdot 7$ per 10,000; in Egypt, where also there is much smallpox of a virulent type, there have been twenty-five deaths in the British troops in the course of the last thirteen years. Some of these deaths have been the result of the revaccination having been unsuccessful or evaded.

In the navy, during the five years 1860 to 1864, while vaccination was advised but not enforced, the annual average mortality per 10,000 was 3.96. From 1865 to 1894 (inclusive), under compulsory revaccination, the annual average rate per 10,000 has dropped to 1, and most of these deaths are explained by evasion of orders as to revaccination.

The evidence in support of the protective influence of vaccination being, as we have shown, so overpoweringly strong, the questions arise: How can any one refuse to accept it? What is the secret of the resistance to vaccination? In trying to answer these questions, the first point to notice is that the proportion of people practically acquainted with smallpox who do not accept the evidence as to the value of vaccination is so small as to be in effect non-existent. Has any one ever heard of an anti-vaccinist who had held a post on the staff of a smallpox hospital, or in any other position where he would have practical

experience of smallpox? Have any of them seen the disease in China or in Africa as Surgeon Thomas Parke saw it in the Stanley expedition? Have they not seen it only with the eyes of their minds in the safe seclusion of the British Museum Reading-room, or of their own studies? Would they might instead direct their imaginations to the saddened homes and maimed or ruined lives for which their evil teaching makes them responsible! As apostles of mischief and misery they have much to answer for.

In the second line of the party stands the large and impenetrable body of cranks, i.e. of people without any sense of intellectual proportion. They see everything of the same size and of the same value. Behind them there is the great body of uneducated people who are against vaccination because it gives them a little trouble, some restless nights, and because they think the risk of smallpox is a remote one. They have seen or heard of cases in which vaccination has done harm. It is easy to sympathise with this group of objectors. In many families the mother, as well as the father, is toiling all day in a factory, and the loss of a few nights' rest is not a trifling added burden to both of them. They have not learnt enough history, logic, or arithmetic to enable them to follow the arguments in support of vaccination. Smallpox seems a long way off, and the risks and worries of vaccination very near. They are only too ready to welcome the mischievous doctrines of the anti-vaccinist orators. But when the scene changes and smallpox is near instead of distant, a large proportion of these same people are keen to get its protection. Dr. Drury, of Halifax, described to the Commission how the mothers in Halifax were influenced in favour of vaccination by the spectacle of the children who had recovered from smallpox, but who were badly disfigured. He said that vaccination was almost universal during the epidemic. The men were standing in rows with their arms bared, not to keep him waiting; he added: 'Smallpox persuades them.'

It must be admitted, too, that a good deal of the opposition to vaccination was based upon the evil results which have sometimes followed the operation, and which are, in great measure, due, not to the compulsory law, but to its faulty administration. It has been ascertained that in England and Wales about fifty deaths each year—i.e. one in 14,000 vaccinations—are registered as having resulted from vaccination. It is possible that a few more may result from it without being registered. On the other hand, the cause

of death may, in some of the fifty cases, be quite independent of vaccination, as, for instance, when convulsions are ascribed to vaccination, though really due to improper and undigested food. It is, however, certain that erysipelas or blood-poisoning does kill a small proportion of children, as a result of vaccination wounds getting fouled before they are healed, and it is also certain that if some children die from this accident, others will be seriously ill from it without dying. In Scotland, the vaccination mortality is one in 38,000, and in Germany one in 100,000. It is clear that there is great room for improvement in this respect in England, and a large part of the Vaccination Act of last year was concerned with the introduction of administrative reforms. Chief among these is the substitution of glycerinated calf lymph for crude calf lymph or humanised lymph. By the use of the glycerinated lymph it is certain that the most important risk which attended arm-to-arm vaccination -- viz. the conveyance of serious constitutional disease from one child to another -- is entirely done away with. This has, in fact, been impossible since calf lymph was used. By the methods now employed, however, much more than security against one disease is promised. Dr. Copeman's researches on the effect of glycerine in purifying vaccine lymph date from some time before 1891. The use of glycerine as a diluent for vaccine lymph has long been known. What was not known, till Dr. Copeman demonstrated it, was that by an intimate admixture of lymph and pure glycerine, and by storing the mixture for a considerable time under conditions which prevent the access of light and air, the foreign or extraneous organisms in the lymph are gradually destroyed and the vaccine organism only left.* We owe also to Dr. Copeman various improvements in the process used, and the demonstrations he gave, by means of secondary culture plates, of the progressive destruction of the extraneous germs. Along with the large amount of care that is now being taken to secure absolutely pure animal lymph, attention has been called to the necessity for conducting the operation of vaccination on aseptic lines. Much of the distress caused by vaccination is due to the suppurative of the vesicles which is not in any way an essential part of the development of the vaccinal antidote. It will probably be found possible before long to vaccinate without producing any suppuration, and, therefore, with next to no pain or

* Trans. Intern. Congr. Hygiene, London, 1891, vol. ii.

risk. Nearly all the opposition to vaccination would disappear if, with absolutely pure lymph and aseptic methods, the suffering and risks of vaccination could be completely removed. The new Act does away with the vaccination stations. This will entail less trouble and inconvenience to the mothers, and it will in that way help to remove opposition. Women who get their living in factories have found it extremely difficult to take their children twice to the vaccinating station in working hours.

It behoves those who oppose vaccination to formulate an alternative policy, and they have done so in the two words 'sanitation' and 'isolation.' But as to these watchwords there is division in their camp. Dr. Creighton, one of their leaders, admits that there is no evidence in support of the view that smallpox can be materially diminished by sanitation. The Vaccination Tract No. 12, published by the Secretary of the Anti-Vaccination Society, objects to isolation in these terms:—

'Smallpox is one of the least contagious of diseases . . . and its contagion is easily prevented by known means. Smallpox hospitals are the culminating mistake in the social treatment of the disease. They are the sewers of death to their inmates. . . . The true policy with smallpox, *in itself an insignificant disease*, is to let each case lie where it falls, and to treat it there as it ought to be treated.'

So that at this moment the majority of anti-vaccinators would seem to be enthusiastically opposed to one of their scientific guides as to the value of sanitation, and to another as to the value of isolation. They believe that protection will be found in the two combined—sanitation till smallpox comes, and isolation when it has come. Let us consider each suggestion in a spirit of fairness and of sympathy. It is easy to understand how, to those who pass their lives in toil under more or less insanitary conditions, who never know the luxury of airy, spacious, and uncrowded houses, who long for more room everywhere, for sunlight, fresh air, plenty of pure water, and well-drained yards and homes, all disease should seem to be connected with the absence of these conditions. It is almost inevitable that they should suspect dirt, crowding, and evil odours to be as potent in the development of one disease as of another. But in this matter the truth lies with Dr. Creighton, and not with his rebellious followers. There is no reason to suppose that smallpox is ever developed out of defective sanitary conditions. Being a highly contagious disease, more people take it when more are exposed to the infection; but the disease itself is as

contagious in a palace as in a common lodging house. There is not a shred or a particle of scientific evidence in support of the view that it is, as to origin, a 'filth disease.' It is no more accurate to say it is bred of filth than it would be to say so of measles or whooping cough. Whether insanitary conditions of any kind—say, a sodden or polluted condition of soil—can in any degree increase the malignity of the type of disease, when the poison has once been imported into the locality, it is impossible to say. Many people have thought that the poison of measles and that of influenza seemed to become more virulent in the presence of insanitary conditions, and it is not at all unlikely that this may be true of them, and also of smallpox; but to admit this is by no means identical with saying that smallpox, measles, or influenza is created by unwholesome surroundings. A cutting north-east wind in March or April will lead to the death of many children who are suffering from whooping cough, but no one supposes that the cold wind creates the contagious germs in that case. The strongest argument against the view that smallpox is the result of bad sanitation is that very bad sanitary defects are often present for years without smallpox resulting. In out-of-the-way country places, a few miles from a station, with a poor and very immobile population, many of whom have never been even to the nearest market town, the sanitary condition is often extremely bad; but there is no smallpox till by chance, at long intervals, it is brought by an individual in some accidental way. If it were bred from filth, half the villages and farmhouses in England would be much more often afflicted with its presence than they actually are.

Let us turn now to the other safeguard proposed in the place of vaccination, the separation of the sick from the well, or the plan of 'isolating' each case of smallpox as soon as it is recognised, in order to check the communication of the disease. Sanitary vigilance and energy are good, and isolation is good, but no long consideration is needed to see that neither of them can possibly replace the protection of vaccination, though they may enormously aid it. The opponents of vaccination have never even attempted to control an epidemic of smallpox by isolation unaided by vaccination. How could they have a hospital with its barrier of guards, as between the patients and the public, if the guards themselves were not protected? It is no doubt highly desirable to prevent the wide diffusion of smallpox poison

through the community, but putting each case as it appeared into a hospital would not do this if the people at the hospital were unprotected. They must be in contact with the patients and with the outside world, and unless they were protected isolation would be completely destroyed. It is only possible now by insisting upon every one in the hospital and in touch with the smallpox patients being protected by revaccination. The two questions should be considered separately—would isolation be possible in an entirely unvaccinated community, and is it practicable on a large scale even with the aid of the protection of vaccination for the majority of the population? The Leicester system, as it is called, requires the immediate removal of every case of smallpox to a hospital, and that all who have been exposed to contagion should be put into quarantine or under surveillance for a fortnight, the infected house being meanwhile thoroughly cleansed and disinfected. The instances in which this system has seemed to work well are Leicester itself in the epidemic of 1892-3, Sydney in New South Wales in 1881, London in the epidemic of 1892-3.

It failed absolutely in the Gloucester epidemic of 1896, and decidedly at Halifax and at Bradford. How did the conditions differ where it succeeded and where it failed? Much evidently depends upon the early recognition of the initial cases. Many cases in a vaccinated community are slight enough to be easily overlooked or mistaken, and cases that are not slight are sometimes mistaken. Human frailty is never far off. Cases such as these testify to that :*

* Dr. Gayton mentioned the case of a man, aged forty-five, a waste-paper dealer. . . . This man, feeling ill, went to — hospital, and after sitting in the waiting-room for some time, on November 7, was seen by several medical men. He was told that he would be admitted, and then went home to tell his wife. He returned to the hospital, was placed in a room through which there passed about 100 persons while he was there, and was placed, after being bathed in the usual way, in a ward with other persons. The next day he was seen by a physician and pronounced to be suffering from smallpox. The patient was ordered to be removed at once, and came to the asylum at Hampstead. He was suffering so acutely that he died nine and a half hours after admission. The next case was that of a druggist's assistant who spent four hours in the House of Commons, presumably in the strangers' gallery, after suffering from the initiatory fever of smallpox. He continued to serve in his master's shop till he was taken to the asylum. The third case was that of a young woman who

* British Medical Journal, vol. ii. 1884, p. 1087.

. . . while suffering from the premonitory symptoms, rode to London in an omnibus to see the Lord Mayor's show, and mingled with the crowd. . . . When the eruption appeared an entertainment was going on in the schoolhouse, where she lived, among the children of the school.'

Such cases are by no means very rare. But for the protection of vaccination either of the three would be quite enough to initiate an epidemic of considerable size. The degree of success attained at Sydney is largely due to the natural isolation involved in its geographical position. Quarantine could scarcely be easier anywhere in the world than it is at Sydney. There is nothing in New South Wales in the least like the conditions which prevail here, where there is a constant stream of travel by many routes and many times every day between London and France (a badly vaccinated country), and where the journey is so short that, except by detaining all passengers for twelve days, the disease could never be kept out of either country when present in the other one. If, instead of having occasionally twenty, forty, or fifty people in quarantine, the Sydney officials had 3,000 or 4,000 people to isolate, could the system be made to work? Would quarantine on such a scale be endured by any one? Moreover, even at Sydney, the officer of health, though full of praise of their system, says, over and over again, in his evidence before the Commission, that he vaccinates all he can when a case occurs, and that he much regrets that vaccination is not enforced by law. He says, (5,002) 'I would certainly supplement isolation by vaccination.' The Board of Health at Sydney agree with him. They passed a report, in which they expressed their regret that nothing had as yet been done to establish a system of compulsory vaccination, 'the only known method of successfully avoiding the ravages of smallpox.' They pointed out, in the same report (6,025), that, by trusting to isolation, there is a considerable risk of an epidemic on a large scale being started, and that then it would be impossible to obtain enough vaccine lymph to vaccinate all who would wish to be protected. The report ended by the expression of a hope that the extreme gravity and urgency of the danger would be recognised, and that a Bill for establishing compulsory vaccination might be forthwith introduced. So that in one of the cases which is quoted in support of the plan of isolation alone, the responsible authorities are quite aware of its drawbacks, and beg for vaccination in addition, and this is in a place where it would, perhaps, be easier than

anywhere else in the world to keep out the seeds of a disease having a fairly long and definite incubation period, and very marked invasion symptoms.

Let us now turn to the epidemic at Leicester in 1892-3, the history of which is given by Dr. Coupland in Appendix VI. to the Final Report. The type of the disease at Leicester, as we saw before, was very mild and the mortality low. Was this in any way due to the system of isolation? Was isolation really relied upon in the 357 cases with which they had to deal? It is clear from Dr. Coupland's statements that there was a good deal of vaccination going on during the epidemic, also that the isolation was not very prompt. Fifty-two cases were removed from their homes later than the sixth day of their illness. Most of the very late cases were not discovered till other cases had been traced to them. Had the disease been of a virulent type, these secondary cases would have been much more numerous. They were probably people who had been once vaccinated, and who had a mild type of disease in a very mild way. Their removal at a very late stage cannot have done very much in the direction of controlling the epidemic. But the most important factors in the Leicester epidemic were the comparatively small number of new cases notified day by day, and the mild character of the disease. For seventy weeks there was an average of five a week. During the worst month—January, 1893—there were 69 new cases, 42 vaccinated, no death; 27 not vaccinated, 4 deaths. These 69 cases averaged for that one month 2·2 each day. But this rate was not maintained. The next month had only 20 new cases, and only in June did the new cases again number as many as 48 in the month, or 1·6 a day. With these numbers isolation was not absolutely impossible. But even here, as early as October, 1892, the quarantine plan for all who had been exposed to infection was abandoned. They were then taken temporarily from their homes while disinfection was carried out, and afterwards allowed to return. The Sub-Committee of the Town Council in ordering this added that they were of opinion that all persons brought into contact with smallpox patients should adopt all protective measures known to science—which in plain words was that they should be vaccinated. The quarantined were kept in their own cleansed houses and allowed to take walks in the country, but were cautioned against going into other people's houses under penalty of losing their quarantine allowance. In certain

cases quarantine was so elastic as to allow the quarantined to continue their regular employments. Even before the rules were relaxed the Council reported that, in practice, the persons quarantined refused to keep in the building set apart for them; they insisted on visiting houses in the neighbourhood and associating with friends in the town.

When they were allowed to return to their own homes 'under observation,' it is complained that they moved about the town and visited neighbouring houses. No mention is made of what houses, but probably some were public-houses, and others shops. When smallpox appeared in a common lodging house all attempt at quarantine was given up as impossible. The sanitary inspector visited the house daily to see who had fallen sick. These were removed to the hospital, and nothing more done. So that in a mild epidemic in a town of 166,000 inhabitants, where the cost of isolation was no very heavy burden, the resources of the hospitals were strained to the utmost, and the plan of keeping the suspects absolutely out of the community as they are at Sydney was given up as impracticable. We should bear in mind that the week ending January 7, 1893, was the worst in the epidemic, and there were in that week 21 new cases to deal with.

Now let us see how the Leicester system worked at Gloucester in 1895-6. Here also there was a population largely unvaccinated. The town contained about a quarter the number of inhabitants at Leicester—12,000 as against 166,000. The type of disease was very much more severe. The total number of cases was 1,979, and the deaths numbered not 21, as at Leicester, but 434. Instead of a maximum of 21 new cases in one week, as at Leicester, there was an average of 21 a day at Gloucester for six consecutive weeks—i.e. at the rate of one new case every half-hour from 8 A.M. to 6.30 P.M. daily. Even taking the sick away from their homes proved to be impossible, partly from the hospitals being much overcrowded—four patients (infants) were, for instance, seen in one bed—and partly because the nursing-staff at the hospital broke down under the strain put upon them, and the people got to think that their sick friends had a better chance of recovering at home, which was probably true. It cannot help patients to pull through a severe attack of smallpox to be surrounded by other patients, each one of whom would make the air of a large ward almost unbearably foetid. Instead of the seven cases of malignant smallpox and seven

deaths at Leicester, there were at Gloucester 73 cases and 73 deaths from this form of the disease. Of the 1,979 cases, only 712 were taken to the hospital, so that 1,267 had their whole illness and died or convalesced at home; 27·8 per cent. of the hospital cases and 18·6 per cent. of those at home died, the worst cases being, no doubt, taken away. In such a terribly severe epidemic as this it is not likely that any effective measure of quarantine could be insisted upon by the authorities. The attempt to explain the Gloucester epidemic as due to the insanitary conditions of Gloucester is not confirmed by the mortality records in the Reports of the Registrar-General. Taking three non-epidemic years at random, and comparing in those years the death-rates of London, Leicester, Gloucester, and Sheffield, there is no evidence in support of the assertion that Gloucester was in a bad sanitary condition. The figures are:—

	Deaths per Thousand		
	1888	1890	1895
London . . .	18·67	21·61	20·59
Leicester . . .	13·08	19·76	23·94
Gloucester . . .	17·75	19·01	20·10
Sheffield . . .	22·02	27·9	23·11

In these three years Gloucester has the best place in the table in every instance. Nor is it correct to say that it was due to serious defect in the amount of hospital accommodation. A small community of 42,000 inhabitants ought not to be expected to provide on a scale suited for 200,000 people. Gloucester possessed a hospital with forty-eight beds, which is more than one bed for 1,000 of population, the proportion generally considered ample for ordinary requirements.

A large number of utterly reckless statements were made about the epidemic at Gloucester. They have been exposed in detail by Dr. Bond in 'The Story of the Gloucester Epidemic.' It will be there seen that in the end the epidemic was stopped by vaccination and revaccination, and by nothing else. With regard to what the epidemic cost Gloucester, the money spent in putting up hospitals (15,000*l.*) was but a very small part of the total. The trade of the city was paralysed, and it has not yet by any means recovered. The city was described as being like a city of the dead. Every

one who could get away did so; business of all kinds was at a standstill. Halifax was another place where trust was put in notification and isolation, and in quarantining the whole family. As long as they could do it the plan worked well, but as the epidemic grew it became impossible. Here there were seventy-two new cases in a fortnight, or about five a day, in spite of having till then quarantined the people who had been in contact with those already ill. Mr. Ainley, who gives the Halifax facts in the sixth volume of the Report, adds that whenever he took a family away he revaccinated them all, so that even if the isolation had been more successful than it seems to have been, the result might be due to the revaccination rather than to isolation. But the Halifax people were not apparently very keen about quarantining, as they only provided twenty beds for it, and they were soon required for the sick people. Mr. Ainley remarks, 'If you took every family in, of course we should require a factory.' At Halifax the Guardians were against vaccination, and the Corporation were for it; the Corporation supplied vaccine lymph gratuitously to the public vaccinator; and Mr. Ainley considered that this was how the epidemic was checked. He mentions a case in a common lodging house, where a tramp slept one night, early in his illness. 'There were 150 people in the house, and there was an outbreak of course.'

The good effects of isolation, plus vaccination and revaccination, have been more strikingly seen in London than perhaps anywhere else, as will be seen in the following table: --

*Smallpox Deaths per million of Population.**

Years		Years	
1881	. . . . 617	1881	. . . . 307
1882	. . . . 110	1885	. . . . 317
1883	. . . . 31		

Smallpox Cases isolated out of London.

1886	. . . . 5	1891	. . . . 2
1887	. . . . 2	1892	. . . . 10
1888	. . . . 2	1893	. . . . 48
1889	. . . . 0	1894	. . . . 22
1890	. . . . 1	1895	. . . . 13

In considering this table we should bear in mind the question of cost. London is so rich that anything necessary to reduce the amount of a disease such as smallpox is easily

* Dissident Report, par. 245.

provided. No matter what the cost is, what is wanted can be done in the very best way. Four hundred beds with the staff required by them are in constant readiness at the ships; also three ambulance steamers; the Thames is easily reached, and it has a wide estuary where isolation is really possible. The initial cost of the hospital ships and ambulance steamers was over 176,500*l.*, and their annual cost is 16,357*l.* The conditions would not be so suitable in many other places. Even in London, if the ratepayers knew the precise cost of every case of smallpox, it is probable they would prefer the cheaper method of compulsory revaccination.

It is not fair to assume that those who believe in vaccination are opposed to sanitation or to isolation. It is, in fact, precisely the opposite of the truth to say they are so opposed. What they urge is that no amount of sanitation will prevent an unprotected population from taking smallpox and dying from it in large numbers when the contagion meets them, if the disease is severe in type, and also that, in the absence of vaccination, isolation would often be quite impossible. With regard to the trustworthiness of statements made by anti-vaccinators, the opinion of Dr. McVail may be quoted. No one has studied anti-vaccination literature more thoroughly than he has, no one in this country is more fitted, by previous researches into the subject, to discern what is true and what is false in *ex parte* statements. He says:—

‘The more I read of anti-vaccination literature the more forcibly is one rule of procedure borne in on me—driven, or hammered, or burned into me—no expression is too strong for the reality. The rule is to believe no single word that an anti-vaccinator, as such, says without obtaining independent evidence of its truth. No matter what the position or absolute trustworthiness of the person may be in every other relation of life, yet, when he comes to write on this subject, his every statement demands the most careful scrutiny.’ (Vaccination Vindicated, p. 90.)

These pungent words refer specially to the statements made by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, and they are supported by a long series of facts and figures disproving nearly every one of Dr. Wallace’s statements and exposing an amount of inaccuracy which is at once amazing and lamentable. If it were necessary to produce evidence in support of Dr. McVail’s ‘rule of procedure,’ it would be easy to do so. But it is not necessary.

The Royal Commissioners, by a majority of eleven to two,

signed a Report entirely in favour of vaccination and re-vaccination. They weighed carefully all that could be urged in support of isolation and sanitation as substitutes for vaccination, and they agreed, by the same majority, that 'there is nothing to warrant the conclusion that in this country vaccination might safely be abandoned, and replaced by a system of isolation. If such a change were made in our method of dealing with smallpox, and that which had been substituted for vaccination proved ineffectual to prevent the spread of the disease (it is not suggested that it could diminish its severity in those attacked), it is impossible to contemplate the consequences without dismay. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be well to repeat that we are very far from underrating the value of a system of isolation. We have already dwelt upon its importance. But what it can accomplish as an auxiliary to vaccination is one thing; whether it can be relied on in its stead is quite another thing.'

With regard to the arrangements for securing the performance of vaccinations, and in particular for dealing with people who refused to obey the law as to vaccination, the Report was signed in its entirety by nine of the thirteen Commissioners. The recommendations made were in effect 'that every effort should be made to remove the causes 'which now render vaccination burdensome and tend to its 'discouragement, and that such changes in our vaccination 'system should be made as would be calculated to promote 'vaccination.' Chief among such changes are the use of calf lymph, compulsory notification of smallpox, and the abolition of vaccination stations. Revaccination was considered of great importance, and was to be in every way encouraged. Compulsion was, however, to be relaxed to such parents as might object to vaccination in their children's interest and not through indolence or indifference. Here, then, is the origin of the 'conscientious objector.' Sir Guyer Hunter and Mr. Hutchinson dissented from their colleagues on these two points. They wished compulsory revaccination to be recommended, and the objecting parents coerced. Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Bright joined Dr. Collins and Mr. Picton in objecting to all forms of compulsion.

The argument of the commissioners against putting legalised pressure upon objecting parents is, in brief, that they will object less if left to themselves, and that fines and penalties, especially when repeated and when the fines are paid by a committee and not by the objecting parent, feed the agitation against the law and do perhaps more harm than good.

The Vaccination Act of 1898 was based mainly upon the Report of the majority of the Commission. Somewhere about a quarter of a million of conscientious objectors have been granted certificates. Who will pay the fines of the objectors who are not conscientious has not yet been settled, nor has any one been able to define what a conscientious objection is as compared with one which is not conscientious. The Act applies to England and Wales only, so it follows that parents who do not wish their children to be protected from smallpox will be controlled in Scotland and Ireland, and free to do as they like in England.

The Government and Parliament have shown lamentable weakness in yielding to a foolish agitation. They have exposed the population to very great danger, and the final effect of this legislation will only be certainly known after it has been in force for some years. Let us, however, make the best of things. It is easy and useless to be pessimistic, to see what may happen if every one behaves foolishly. Happily, however, there always remains a good thick stratum of common sense in the majority of people, and it is *possible* that this may now be roused in defence of vaccination, and that more may be done indirectly to control the anti-vaccinist fanatics than any compulsory legislation has been able to effect. Indirect pressure has the immense advantage of being able to make itself felt where it is wanted, and where it cannot be passed on and received by deputy. No committee can pay the fine if an unvaccinated person cannot get employment, cannot insure his life, cannot enter a benefit society, and cannot take a lodging in a desirable place.

Every practical improvement in the administration of the Vaccination Act will tend enormously to remove opposition. Let the doctors aim at making vaccination a perfectly safe and painless operation before they conclude that its protection will be at all generally refused by parents. The Act of 1898, with all its tremendous possibilities of mischief, may in the end do good if it results in a considerable and general improvement in vaccination and in leading people to rely less upon infant vaccination, of an imperfect character, and more upon thoroughly efficient vaccination at some time in early life and upon revaccination at a later age. To accomplish this, however, it will be necessary that in a population of thirty millions all who are ignorant or indolent shall be made aware, by direct teaching or by indirect pressure, of the necessity for vaccination and revaccination. Can any one dare to be confident that this result will be attained?

ART. IV.—1. *Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore.* By Lieutenant-General PITT-RIVERS. 4 vols. (Printed privately.) 1887-98.

2. *Excavations on the site of the Roman City of Silchester.* By G. E. FOX and W. H. HOPE. Westminster: 1891-98.

3. *Archæologia Æliana; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities.* Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1894-98.

4. *Reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committee.* Reprinted from the Transactions of the Cumberland Archaeological Society. Kendal: 1894-98.

5. *Birrens and its Antiquities.* By J. MACDONALD and J. BARBOUR. Dumfries: 1897.

And other works.

IN a room of the Bodleian Library at Oxford there hangs an ancient map of England, as old as the end of the thirteenth century, on which the mapmaker has marked a line of fortifications with the title 'Murus Pictorum,' the wall of the Picts. It is the great frontier wall which the Emperor Hadrian constructed for over seventy miles from the Tyne to the Solway, and the Bodleian Library preserves for us the first, or almost the first, extant attempt to record its position on a map. The attempt was a natural one at the time when it was made. The historical writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England had antiquarian tastes, and took some interest in the history of Roman Britain. Not only did they generally preface their chronicles with sketches of that history—poor sketches, it must be confessed, and mostly plagiarism—they also thought it worth while to tell their readers English names of Roman sites and to mention Roman remains. One man quotes a scrap from an inscription; he did not understand it, but that is no matter. Another alludes to the Roman walls of London, or what he took to be such, as standing when he wrote. A third, as we have seen, marked Hadrian's Wall upon his map. Judged by any modern standard, these are poor efforts, but they are the first ever made to study Roman Britain, and an article on that topic may fitly take its commencement from them. And perhaps they possess a wider interest, as proofs that in this, as in education and much else, the Middle Age anticipated ideas of the modern world.

The real study of the Roman antiquities in our island commenced much later, in the vigorous Elizabethan period, when Camden wrote his '*Britannia*.' Camden was primarily not an historian so much as a topographer who collected his own facts, travelling for this purpose through the length and breadth of England, and his '*Britannia*' was a description of noteworthy things and places, arranged by counties and accompanied by criticisms and explanations. He limited himself to no special period, but he treated Roman antiquities with fulness. In particular, he copied or procured copies of numerous inscriptions, which just at that time were attracting the attention of scholars. Thus he compiled within the covers of his great work a fairly complete topographical sketch of the Roman remains then known in England, and he took the first steps towards the criticism and interpretation of them. But he drew no distinction between the study of Roman and of other antiquities; he included all alike as belonging to topographical research.

His successors for two and a half centuries followed his pattern. An extensive and learned topographical literature grew up, and the magnificent 'county histories' which adorn the shelves of wealthy libraries were one after another compiled. They are works of massive and splendid erudition. But they deal only incidentally with Roman remains; their authors had often no special knowledge of classical antiquity, and the system of topographical research to which they belonged possessed two characteristics hostile to a proper study of Roman Britain. In the first place, it was topographical, and writers naturally approached Roman remains with topographical prepossessions. They considered their principal duties to be tracing roads and identifying names of places which occur in certain Roman lists and roadbooks. They neglected history, save when they struggled to track Cæsar through Kent, Agricola and Septimius Severus through Scotland.

Nor were their methods such as to contribute much to a right understanding of their subject. They looked for roads without excavating, without consulting charters and terriers—in short, with little but a frank willingness to find roads. They called in etymology to identify their place-names, and that dangerous science led them sadly astray. Camden set the example. Any similarity of name was good enough for him. He wanted, for instance, to find the sites of two forts, *Bremetennacum* and *Aballaba*; he

was delighted to place them at Brampton and Appleby, though he knew of no Roman vestiges at either town. His successors went equally wrong. One of them cast his mind on 'Portus Adurni:' surely, he said, it is 'portus Arundi,' Arundel in Sussex. Another was looking for Bovium; he found it at Cowbridge, in South Wales, and we may be grateful to him that he did not find it at Oxford. A third was puzzled about Borcovicus; he emended the name to Porcovicus (pig town), and produced a convenient farm called Swinesteads. Nor were the routes of Severus or Agricola elucidated with more success. Vague literary phrases of Tacitus or Dio were combined with the positions of earthworks—many of them not Roman earthworks—and a detailed story elicited of which a war correspondent would be proud. Such methods only hindered progress. But they were followed—with gradually decreasing confidence—till not very long ago.

A second evil accentuated the first. Though an Oxford man, a graduate of Christ Church, Camden lived and worked far from Oxford and its influences. So, too, his successors. For two hundred and fifty years, from the opening of the seventeenth till past the middle of the nineteenth century, the study of antiquities, Roman or other, in England, was pursued principally outside the English Universities. The Universities shut themselves up with the classical languages and literatures, and the ranks of antiquaries were recruited by graduates who had ceased to reside or by men who held no degree at all. A great gulf was fixed between the study of the classics and that of archaeology. The province of the antiquary was held to include antiquities of all sorts, British urn and Gothic moulding, Saxon coin or mediæval charter. It occurred to no one to isolate the remains of one period and study them in connexion with the literature and the history of that period.

Fortunately, good influences intervened to promote knowledge of the subject. Roman antiquities were studied with especial interest at the opening of the last century, by a group of able men, and notably by Horsley. He was a Presbyterian minister in the North, who travelled up and down England, like Camden, and built up out of his travels the '*Britannia Romana*.' The book so far continues Camden's method that it is arranged topographically; but the epithet added to the title is significant. Camden's '*Britannia*' dealt with all antiquities; Horsley's '*Britannia Romana*' dealt with those of Roman Britain as a Roman

province. For the first time the subject was conceded definite and independent treatment and an immense advance was made. The book brought improvements also in detail; many Roman place-names were for the first time properly identified in its pages. A second advance came a century later. Among the curious little movements which followed the first Reform Bill was an archæological revival. New societies were formed, new men attracted. The universities still held aloof, but numerous distinguished persons joined. Never, perhaps, have social rank and archæology met so close as in the forties. The advantages of excavation began to be dimly realised, and successful study was made of much which had been hitherto despised—pottery, brooches, and such seeming trifles.

Finally, in the later decades of this century a new epoch opens. The universities actually interest themselves in archæology, and, though Greek lands absorb their chief efforts, a few capable students of Roman Britain have come forward. The subject is being recognised as requiring trained investigators and a knowledge of what the Empire and its provinces really were. Mommsen and his colleagues are at the same time making that knowledge fuller and more accessible. Men realise that their old conceptions were narrow; that the Empire was vaster and more complex than they supposed. A new method is establishing its claims—the method of research by excavating—and a much higher standard is erected of what efficient and scientific excavation means. Finally, a curious testimony to the advance appears; the students of Roman Britain demand that its literature should be indexed, and a series has been commenced—it has not, alas! progressed very far—in which the antiquities of each county are catalogued, and the books or papers noted in which each remain or relic has been described.

A list of the sites recently excavated would be imposing and tedious. It will suffice to summarise the chief enterprises, and thence pass on to consider Roman Britain as we now know it with our opened eyes. We may divide the excavations—as we shall divide the province—into two parts: the military on the Scotch and Welsh borders, the civilian in the English lowlands. The first place among the excavations of civilian sites is claimed by the work of the London Society of Antiquaries at Silchester, ten miles south of Reading. Here is a little Romano-British town, in extent a hundred acres, and almost all of it plough land or

pasture, accessible to the excavator's spade. During the last nine summers the uncovering of this little town has been slowly carried on. It is a long labour, even now hardly two-thirds complete. But it is thorough; the whole area is trenched, every house and every rubbish pit cleared out, accurate plans and models constructed, and elaborate reports published. It is an attempt to do at Silchester what the Italians have been doing for more than a century at Pompeii. The results will not compare with those of Pompeii, but they are, and will be, valuable. When the work is ended, we shall possess a complete plan of a Romano-British town, and a collection of the objects found in it. Next to this organised effort of a great society we may place that of a private individual, smaller in scope, but hardly less important in results, and unrivalled in the scientific minuteness with which it is prosecuted and the magnificence of the reports describing the work. At intervals during the last fifteen years General Pitt-Rivers has carried out a series of excavations of Romano-British villages and country habitations in the chalk hills south-west of Salisbury, and his discoveries are enshrined in four stately quartos. As Silchester shows what a little town was like in Roman Britain, so Woodcutts, Rotherley, and Woodyates reveal the life-circumstances of the unconsidered silent countryfolk. There were plenty such in Britain, and no picture of it could have been complete without General Pitt-Rivers's labours. Thirdly, the 'villas,' the residences of the great landowners, perhaps the most characteristic features of the non-military portions of the province. Many of these, like the great house at Bignor on the Sussex downs, were explored more or less adequately in the early part of this century. Recent years have added little - a large 'villa,' at Darenth, in Kent, which some of our London readers may have visited, and a small curiously planned one near Andover, will serve as instances.

The three great legionary fortresses at York, Chester, and Caerleon-on-Usk lie inaccessible beneath streets and houses, but Chester has witnessed striking discoveries. In 1887 the north city wall, overhanging the canal, required repair; the repairs and subsequent excavations showed the lower courses of this wall to be Roman construction, and full inside of Roman tombstones. Nearly a hundred sepulchral inscriptions were taken out and numerous carved fragments of funeral monuments, and part of the wall still remains unexplored. At some uncertain date, possibly in the reign of

Severus, the north wall of the fortress was rebuilt, or perhaps the fortress was enlarged. The facing of the new wall was made with massive blocks of local sandstone, and the interior filled with fragments torn from a neighbouring soldiers' cemetery. The dishonour shown to gravestones has provoked expressions of pained surprise in various quarters. But there are parallels elsewhere in the Roman Empire, and, for that matter, in many English churchyards.

The smaller forts which, with their garrisons of 'auxiliaries,' guarded the restless frontier districts of the North have become much better known to us. The Scotch Society of Antiquaries has uncovered two such forts—one at Birrens, near to Ecclefechan; the other at Ardoch, beyond Dumblane. Both forts arrest attention by the treble and quadruple lines of ditches which surround their ramparts. At Ardoch these are so vast that you could almost hide a squadron of cavalry, and it was they which first aroused the excavator's curiosity. But the work was naturally not limited to them. The whole area of each fort was trenched; its buildings—prætorium or headquarters, officers' apartments, stores, barracks—were planned; we may claim to know all its internal arrangements. A third fort near Falkirk has been attacked quite recently. A fourth at Capehope, near Jedburgh, was partly explored by Lord Lothian a dozen years since, and merits more attention; while, lastly, a commencement has been made of examining the wall which Pius built from Forth to Clyde, twenty years later than the great work of Hadrian. It is, alas! only a commencement, not yet dignified by description in print. Meanwhile English antiquaries have been busy on and near Hadrian's Wall. Forty years ago the then Duke of Northumberland led the way. Recognising before most people the worth of the spade, he uncovered the fort of High Rochester on the moors north of Otterburn, and was able to present scholars with probably the first tolerably complete plan of a Roman fort which was ever made in England or abroad. His example was not followed. The great historian of Northumberland, John Hodgson, had some years earlier described the wall most admirably, and the late Dr. Bruce continued the study in a manner worthy of Hodgson and of the wall. But excavations lingered. Only the fort at Chesters, close to Chollerford, in the delightful valley of the North Tyne, was slowly explored, and now remains with ruins partly uncovered to attract the

studious or the curious. Change has come latterly. The Newcastle antiquaries have excavated the whole of Housesteads Fort and part of another; the general system of frontier defence erected by Hadrian has been probed with the spade, to the overthrow of most current theories, and members of the Universities have at last joined the work. The local Society in Cumberland, always appreciative of excavations, has cleared out the fort on Hardknott, high over the Esk and the 'Woolpack,' well known to Lake climbers, and the list of lesser operations might make a small gazetteer. It will be more profitable to estimate the fruits of this activity;—what, after all, was Roman Britain?

The question is hard to answer. The materials for it have never been united into a connected whole since Horsley wrote, a hundred and seventy years ago. They are scattered up and down a multitude of books—in special works, in county histories, in privately printed and hardly accessible monographs, above all, in those 'Transactions' and 'Proceedings' of local antiquarian societies which have poured forth so copiously during the last half-century. Nor is that all. Even when collected, the materials are defective. Some points need supplement from further excavations. Other points need discussion and that construction of working hypotheses which necessarily precedes all discovery. Too many archæologists still show the topographical taint: few regard their facts as bases for historical conclusions, or attempt to conceive of Roman Britain as a Roman province, part of the Roman Empire. The time is not yet come for the new 'Britannia Romana' of which the late Lord Selborne and others have dreamt: there is still need of *Vorstudien*—alas! that a German word should be necessary for describing such an instrument of research. If we here attempt a sketch of Roman Britain, based on the works named at the head of this article and on others, our readers will comprehend that it is not only a summary of acquired conclusions, but an estimate and an essay of the future.

The Roman conquest commenced in A.D. 43. Apparently the dominion of south-eastern Britain had just passed to anti-Roman rulers, and the Roman Government, which was then actuated by an annexation policy, determined on invasion. Forty or fifty thousand men crossed in three divisions to Kent: we assume they landed in the three Kentish ports where Roman remains still survive—Lymnc,

Dover, and Richborough—two of them ports no longer. They seized London and the native capital at Colchester; thence diverging in three corps they marched westwards to Somerset and Devon, north-west across the Midlands to Shropshire, and north to Lincoln, and in three or four years overran all the land south of Humber and east of Severn. Then the Welsh and Yorkshire hills barred their progress, and a long wrestle followed with the wild hill tribes. It was not till thirty-five years later that Agricola finally crushed these fierce fighters and advanced into Scotland (A.D. 80). His Scotch campaigns have been enthusiastically described by his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus; in reality they were raids without result, useless and expensive, and no recognisable traces of them have survived. A few inscriptions and finds of pottery suggest, though not quite conclusively, that he advanced up the west coast through Lancashire and Cumberland to Carlisle. Perhaps, too, we may assign to his troops the leaden bullets which the Scotch antiquaries found last year at Burnswark in Dumfriesshire, for, strange as it may sound, the Romans appear to have discontinued the use of such bullets before the end of the first century. Such are the faint traces of brilliant but ineffective campaigns.

In A.D. 121 Hadrian, who loved strong frontiers, fortified the isthmus between Tyne and Solway with his wall, and declared the Roman advance to be ended. It was not all over. A score of years later the Emperor Pius pushed on to the isthmus between Forth and Clyde, and built a second wall across it—still surviving in broken fragments. But the Roman occupation of Scotland was limited. It was purely military. The wall of Pius, the road leading to it past Rochester and Capehope, the outlying fort of Ardoch are almost its only remains, and it hardly lasted forty years. Recent investigations into the inscriptions, coins, and other remains of Roman origin found in Scotland show that all the land north of the Cheviots was lost to Rome some years before the end of the second century. From henceforward the Roman frontier was Hadrian's Wall, with outlying forts at one or two places like Birrens and Rochester, commanding the easiest passes into Caledonia.

The province which was thus constituted had two distinct parts: first, the military districts of the northern frontier and (though less important) of the west; and, secondly, the rest of the land southwards and eastwards, inhabited by the

ordinary civilian population. The former claim first and most notice. The army which permanently garrisoned Britain was very large, and it was the principal element in the province. Its predominance must not be misunderstood. Not all Britain was military. Our antiquaries have often written as if every Roman road in the province had been used exclusively for the passage of troops, and every 'villa' built for the residence of some important officer. This is an error. The army was confined almost wholly to the districts mentioned. Rome followed a different policy from ours in India. Our cantonments are spread over India; the Roman garrisons were massed wholly on the frontiers where invasion threatened. Thus, eighty or a hundred thousand soldiers guarded the Rhine, but the interior of Gaul, the whole area almost that is now France, was content with twelve hundred men. Thus, when danger grew on the Middle Danube, large Roman armies held the bank from Regensburg to Belgrade, but the inlanders in Croatia and Bosnia seldom saw a soldier. Thus, thirty or forty thousand men garrisoned Northern Britain and the Welsh hills, while the rest of the land was empty of troops.

Let us look at the details. Three legions, each five thousand heavy infantry, were cantoned in three fortresses, York, Chester, and Caerleon. The two latter had been originally selected as bases for the conquest of the Welsh hill-tribes, and they were retained afterwards for other reasons. They guarded two great estuaries against Irish pirates, and they served as depôts whence detachments could be sent to hold the roads and forts in Wales. York, the third fortress, was a basis for the defence of the North, and this defence was large and complex. It covered a wide area. With the exception of the Vale of York and the East Riding, everything north of the Humber and the Mersey was a military district held down by small forts and their garrisons of 'auxiliary' regiments, troops of the second line, each five hundred or a thousand strong. Beyond, from sea to sea between Tyne and Solway, stretched the massive and continuous barrier of Hadrian's Wall.

The remains of that wall are among the stateliest monuments of Roman military power which time and men have spared. For the first part of its course, as you follow it from Newcastle towards the setting sun, it crowns the high land on the north side of the Tyne valley, and most of it has been destroyed. In 1745 the Scotch came down on Carlisle; Wade and his English troops had been expecting

them on the east coast, and when the news came and they started in haste from Newcastle, they stuck fast in country lanes. The disaster was serious, and the instant the Scotch were crushed a fine high road was made from Newcastle to Carlisle. The Government adopted a scheme proposed some years before by one John Warburton, an antiquary deserving of perpetual pillory, and by that scheme the road for twenty-seven miles out of Newcastle was carried almost continuously along the very fabric of the wall. To-day you may see its facing-stones lying in the roadway just where the Roman set them, and all the neighbourhood will tell you that no firmer, drier road was ever made. Parallel to it on the north, with scarcely a break, runs the great fosse which the Roman dug in front of his wall; behind, to the south, are certain solid earthworks, of which more presently, and here and there the grass-grown ruins of various forts, among them that of Chesters, to which we have already alluded.

Finally, road and wall diverge, and scarcely meet again. The wall passes along a mighty line of marvellous natural defence, a range of sheer basalt cliffs which face the north; here its remains are most perfect and astonishing. Here, as a traveller wrote of Housesteads a century since—here lie the remains of ancient splendour in bold characters. Forts stand visible on the hillsides, lifting above the grass the masses of their stubborn masonry. The wall itself still rises shoulder high for hundreds of yards together. Portions have been restored, and the student needs to look carefully, for the restorations, as at Brunton turret, deceive even the learned. But they do not mar the great picture unrolled to eyes that will see it. Here nature and man combine in a unique landscape. As you look eastwards and westwards, and trace the long line of wall winding for miles along perilous ridges and climbing hill after hill; as you turn south to the Tyne and the dark fells beyond it; or stare out north over the long flat wastes and pathless lonely mosses, the vision of a great empire rises. Here, on the uttermost limit of the Roman world, the desolate land has been stamped for ever with the sign of its former lords. The wall may seem strong beyond necessity and clumsy in its massiveness, but it is an imperial work. At Housesteads, or on the lofty summit of Winshields, or on Thirlwall crags, or westwards by Birdoswald, the imagination can realise almost as distinctly as in the Forum of Rome what was the majesty of the Empire, why even its barbarian con-

querors revered it in its decay, and its last dim afterglow lingered till the birth of men who are yet alive.

West of this memorable region, the wall descends slowly to the Solway. But its visible traces end with the hills; in the rich pastoral lowlands it and its forts have been almost wholly rooted up, and even Carlisle cannot show one stone upon another of Roman Luguwallium, though it possesses an excellent museum of Roman remains discovered on the site. Here we cease following the wall, and turn to consider what the whole work was. For brevity we speak of the wall, but there are in reality several lines. There is, first, the wall proper, a structure of hewn stone once some sixteen feet high, with various forts and towers along it, and a road connecting them together. South of this, and roughly parallel to it, is an earthwork, distant sometimes a few dozen yards and sometimes half a mile. This is the so-called Vallum, in reality a broad flat-bottomed fosse, out of which the soil has been thrown up into ramparts on each side. Thirdly, there is another wall, neither of stone nor of earth, but of regularly laid sods of turf; Scotchmen would call it a faildyke. This has been only recently discovered, and only one piece is known, near Birdoswald, two miles in length. As we shall see, it may have once been much longer. All three works are indubitably Roman; there is no question as to that. The puzzle begins when we enquire their relations to one another.

Archæologists yield only to theologians in the fierceness of their controversies, and the wall has excited extraordinary feuds. The stone wall was unquestionably meant as a defence against the North: what then was the Vallum? Whole counties have fought about it. Early in the century the Northumbrians, Hodgson and Bruce, quoted ancient historians and inscriptions to prove that Hadrian fortified the frontier from Tyne to Solway; they conjectured that this Emperor built both wall and Vallum; the wall to keep out the Caledonians—the Vallum to prevent chance rear assault from southern insurgents. The archæologists of Cumberland retorted that, according to other ancient writers, the Emperor Severus also built a wall here, eighty years after Hadrian. They conjectured accordingly that Hadrian first constructed the Vallum, and then Severus added the stronger defence of the stone wall. The dispute was fierce; Hadrianists and Severianists were as Jews and Samaritans. It was all no use. Time has convinced both sides of error, and the truth does not even lie in the middle. The matter is as

labyrinthine as a Provençal town, and we shall not here explore its recesses; we will state only what recent excavations and inquiries make probable. It is certain that Hadrian built a wall with forts. It is certain that the Vallum was not a military work nor meant for defence against any one. It is certain, thirdly, that the Vallum was not built alone, before anything else on the frontier; it was not an independent work, but part of a larger whole. It might seem natural to put twos and twos together, and conclude as follows -- that Hadrian built the stone wall to keep out the barbarians, and that he also built the Vallum to mark the legal limit of the Roman province. This view, with slight differences in detail, has been proposed both in England and by the great German historian, Mommsen. But during the last three or four years the wall of sods, the faildyke, has emerged to vex those who hold this view. It is but a fragment, but we know that it was constructed previously to the stone wall. That seems certain, since the excavators found both the stone wall and the fort of Birdoswald to be built on the top of it. What, then, was this puzzling structure of sods? Was it never more than two miles long, or did it once stretch from coast to coast? And if the latter, was it some earlier frontier wall of turf, on the top of which the stronger wall of stone was subsequently erected? Then our antiquaries must settle who built what. Did Agricola build in turf and Hadrian in stone, or Hadrian in turf and Severus in stone? We commiserate the antiquaries who have to wrestle with these bewildering riddles. Fortunately, the fact stands firm that Hadrian did somehow fortify the frontier; the rest we will leave the excavators to settle by further digging, praying them only not to find any further walls.

The land south of these frontier lines, and, indeed, so far south as the hills extend, was a military district. Throughout Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire on the West Coast, Durham, and the North and West Ridings on the East Coast, we meet no traces of orderly civil life, of towns or 'villas,' of trade or commerce, in Roman days. Great military roads traversed this district and gave access to the wall, while forts dotted along these roads secured communications and kept in check, not always successfully, the restless hillmen. The course of these roads may be easiest explained by comparing our modern railway system with them. There was a Roman East Coast route, which started

from the legionary cantonments at York, and ran nearly parallel to the North-Eastern Railway's main line, but a trifle west of it. In the middle of Durham county, at the still traceable fort of Binchester, near Bishop Auckland, this road divided. One part ran due north to the wall at Newcastle, then a mere fort, Pons Ælii, where Hadrian had put a bridge; the other branch struck the wall further west, and passed up Redesdale to the fort of High Rochester and the trail over the Cheviots. On the West Coast two roads, one probably older than the other, traversed Lancashire, and, with various ramifications, led into the Lake country and to Carlisle. One may contrast this with the London and North-Western Railway, which runs parallel with parts of it near Tebay, and again between Penrith and Carlisle. A third route, which might not unfairly be called the Midland route, led from York past Rokeby, and over Stainmoor to Penrith and Carlisle. Some of these roads attain great elevations. The Stainmoor road meets a branch railway which has the credit of being the highest ordinary railway in England, and one of the roads in the Lakes crosses from Windermere to Ullswater over the top of High Street. There (2,600 feet over sea level) you may see kerbstones which the Roman set, and with the spade you may cut through the layers which make up the roadway. It is not only the wall in Northern Britain which reveals the calibre of the men of the Empire. They created a defensive system there which was smaller than ours in North-Western India, just as, of course, the Lake hills are smaller than the Himalayas and Britain smaller than the continent of India, yet which may well be compared with ours for its organisation, its solidity, and the unswerving vigour of its execution.

Behind this broad frontier lay the peaceful non-military part of the province; its limits, the Severn on the west, the Vale of York on the east. Outside these limits there was no orderly provincial life; within them there was nothing else. The ordinary provincial life of non-military Britain was possibly not unhappy. Certainly it had no history, and the spade has told us all that we know of it. Like other provinces, Britain was Romanised. Its inhabitants became sooner or later citizens, as well as subjects, of Rome; most of them seem to have spoken Latin, and they lived in general much like other provincials in the western provinces of the Empire. But as Britain was small, and poor, and perhaps thinly populated, it did not produce those develop-

ments of city life, or commerce, or education, or individual wealth, which we find, for instance, in most parts of Gaul and of Spain. The fact is significant that, so far as is known at present, the Italian city system did not spread in Britain. That system was a most conspicuous and important feature in the civilisation of most provinces. Its characteristic was a self-governing municipality with a constitution resembling that of most large Italian towns; there was a senate, elected magistrates, and a body of electing townspeople who all enjoyed the rights of the Roman citizen; there was besides a dependent territory which might be fifty miles across. Towns of this kind bore the title *colonia* or *municipium*, and were freely planted by the Roman Government at various epochs in the western provinces of the Empire. Some were *coloniæ* of veterans, founded to receive time-expired soldiers, who deserved provision at the end of twenty or twenty-five years' service; it was probably cheaper to settle them in a province than to buy land in Italy, or pension them off, and, as all on their discharge became Roman citizens, it was natural to create Roman municipalities to receive them. Others were native towns where Romans, traders or others, had settled, or the inhabitants had adopted Roman ways. Others were settlements of women folk, traders and the like, squatting outside the gates of the great fortresses, and forming slowly considerable populations of Roman or Romanised persons.

Whatever the origin, these municipalities appear in every province where the higher civilisation of Rome found entrance. They mark its advent; they assist in its expansion. Britain could boast of only five. Verulamium, just outside St. Albans, was a *municipium* planted in the early days of the conquest; its spacious walls still stand, and the spade has lately uncovered part of its municipal buildings. Camulodunum, now Colchester, was a *colonia* for veterans, discharged from the corps stationed in Britain. At Lincoln and York, both fortresses at one time or another, the settlements outside the gates grew into *coloniæ*, and at Lincoln the rank of the city has probably enshrined itself in the last syllable of the name, though this, like most things, has been disputed. Lastly, the Emperor Nerva planted a *colonia* at Glevum, now Gloucester, and the massive remains of its city wall can still be seen in cellars and gardens. It is a brief list, compared with most provinces, and the five cities on it rose to less prosperity than most of the municipalities in the Empire.

On the other hand, there were not a few towns, especially in the south-east, which attained some lesser degree of civic developement. They were mostly of small size. They were not municipalities on the Italian model, but old Celtic *oppida*, which had grown into towns as Roman civilisation progressed in Britain. London, a great trading centre, was the largest. It was, indeed, a flourishing city where the richer products of Imperial civilisation, the finer glass and choicer statuary, were not unknown. Two marble figures, a Genius and a River God (perhaps Father Thames), and a bas-relief of the Mithraic Sacrifice, which were found ten years ago in Walbrook, may serve as instances. They will bear comparison with any ordinary works of art discovered in any province. But London, like Rome itself, lies buried under the dusty wreck of fifteen centuries and the streets and houses of a great capital; we shall never trace its character precisely. Other towns are smaller and less noteworthy, yet worthy of note—Canterbury and Rochester, Winchester and Cirencester, Leicester and Aldborough, Dorchester and Exeter. They occur all over non-military Britain, but most in the part nearest to the Continent, which was doubtless the most civilised. During the last nine years one of these towns has been two-thirds excavated for us by patient and skilful labour; let it serve as an example of many.

Silchester stands on a hill ten miles south of Reading on the confines of Hampshire and Berkshire. As you visit it to-day, you see on gently sloping ground a large irregular area of a hundred acres girt with the massive and striking ruins of an ancient city wall, still standing twenty feet. It is impressive, but it is almost more delightful. There in June the air is sweet, the prospect is wide. The distant Hampshire hills rise blue on the horizon, and the overgrowth of trees that crowns the walls clothes with appropriate softness and colour the grey ruins of a vanished world. On one side and the other, north and south, are two of the ancient gateways. Hence, travellers once set out south for Winchester, north to the valley of the Thames. The area within the walls is empty. The buildings, constructed of flint or of wood, are wholly gone. Not one stone is left upon another; only here and there in rainless summers the unevenly growing corn reveals the paving of the ancient streets and the foundations of houses beneath. Even the excavations leave no mark; they are filled up each season, and the plough goes over them. But the excavations, com-

bined with some scanty information derived elsewhere, tell us much about the place. It was *Calleva Atrebatum*, in free British days capital and *oppidum* of the Atrebates. After their conquest, the Romans rebuilt it, laying out all the streets at right angles, like a chessboard, or—among modern towns—like Mannheim on the Rhine. No record survives of its rebuilding, but it was plainly laid out all at once, and the coins and pottery found there suggest that this was done within half a century of the conquest. The historian Tacitus tells us that Agricola encouraged the Britons to erect ‘temples, market places, and private houses,’ in Roman style, and to adopt Roman dress and speech; possibly enough, Agricola founded Silchester.

Whatever its origin, it was a small city. Its principal building was the Forum, right in the centre of it. This is a nearly square block, not quite two acres in extent, which somewhat resembles in ground plan a mediæval cloister; it is a large colonnaded square surrounded on three sides with shops, and faced on the fourth by the Public Hall or Basilica, where we may think the local authorities sat and merchants trafficked. Save that it is simpler in plan, the whole closely resembles the *fora* of towns in Italy or in any western province of the Empire. Elsewhere within the walls stood three small temples and an extensive range of building, half of it baths, and half, possibly, an inn. The rest of the space is occupied by the private houses and their gardens, and the houses are remarkable because they do not in the least resemble the ancient Italian house as we know it at Rome or Pompeii. Two types can be distinguished. One is a straight row or range of rooms with a corridor along them; the other has three such rows round three sides of a large open and rectangular yard. Both these types of house are found freely in Britain and in Northern Gaul right up to the Rhine; they are Celtic types of dwellings which the Romans accepted, perhaps as suited to the frosts and rain of the North. The houses with yards were naturally larger than the simpler type, but both were small at Silchester. Few, if any, had upper stories. Only one or two had as many as twenty-five or thirty rooms, and those small rooms. The fittings seem not to have been elaborate. Some of the mosaic pavements are graceful, none magnificent, and the individual finds yield little evidence of wealthy occupants. Nor were the houses numerous. If a calculation made by a competent authority is correct, there were barely

eighty in the place. Nor was there much trade or industry. Some small furnaces seem to point to dyeing—perhaps of sheep's wool from sheep runs on the downs. A building which may be a bakery raises the question whether the Callevans had reached that economic stage where not every one bakes his own bread. In brief, Silchester shows just that character which belongs to the small country town. We may take it as typical. Some Romano-British towns were larger or wealthier—Wroxeter possibly, and Leicester and Cirencester, and Aldborough far away in the Vale of York. Others, certainly, were smaller; all are varieties of the same type. The city life of Roman Britain, so far as we know it, was a life of small country towns. It is just the city life which we find in Northern Gaul, only there the inhabitants were richer and the towns a little larger.

This general conclusion is in itself interesting enough to justify the commencement and the completion of the Silchester excavations; but other striking discoveries have been made by the way. Most noteworthy is the discovery made in 1892 of an early Christian church. It is a little edifice built, like the rest of Silchester, of flint, and standing on a waste plot just behind the forum. It measures roughly forty feet by twenty, and has an aisle and two naves, a porch at the east end, and an apse at the west. An ornamental mosaic panel in the apse marks the place where a moveable altar was placed; the priest stood behind this in the apse, facing eastwards. Without was a courtyard, and a brick structure which may have served to the purification of worshippers. No indication of date or object has been found in any part of the building, but its general resemblance is striking to fourth-century churches in Italy, in Africa, and in other parts of the Empire, both in orientation and in other details—for early Christian churches usually had western chancels. Encouraged by this resemblance the excavators have called it a Christian church, and we believe them to be right. Some natural scepticism has greeted the identification; but this, we are convinced, is partly due to ignorance of the foreign parallels supporting it which, strangely enough, no one who has written on the matter has taken the trouble to quote. Before we pass from this interesting discovery to our next topic, we will venture to express our regret that the little ruin was not roofed in and made permanently accessible to students. In general the principle is good that excavated buildings should be buried

again, for the English climate is relentless and sheds are costly. But a few choice finds deserve a better fate; we believe this is one.

In the country outside these towns the principal feature is the 'villa.' The name is bad, for its modern associations are ridiculous, but the thing is clear enough. The 'villa' was the dwelling of a large landowner, living in the midst of his property, cultivating the demesne by slaves and letting the rest to half-free *coloni*, tied to the soil. In fact, the villa system is the progenitor of the system of lords and villeins in the middle ages. This system was widely spread in Gaul and Britain, especially during the fourth century. The estates in Britain were probably smaller, the landowners less like territorial magnates than was the case in Gaul, but the system was the same. The landlords, as in Gaul, were, we may suppose, mostly Romanised provincials, some of them possibly descendants of the old Celtic nobility. Nearly all that we know of the villas in Britain has been learnt from excavations. Like the towns which we have just described, the villas occur only in the non-military half of the province. The most northern example is at the top of the Vale of York, where a fragment of the Roman tessellated floor has been relaid in the little village church of Well. The most western examples are in Glamorgan, at Llantwit near Cowbridge and Ely near Cardiff, the latter discovered only three or four years ago. Within these limits they abound—as, for instance, in Gloucestershire, where the Cotswolds slope to the Severn, or in West Sussex between the downs and the sea, or along the northern coast of Kent. The estates of which they were the centres were very likely sheep-runs or cornland; for Britain in the fourth century was a corn-exporting country, and we hear once or twice of British cloth as an article of commerce.

In plan and internal arrangements these country houses closely resemble the Silchester houses: the larger ones are built round yards, the smaller along corridors. Their size varies immensely. A little corridor house excavated a dozen years ago at Frilford, near Oxford, has twelve rooms in an area of forty feet by sixty-five, and a detached bath-house. The yard-type villa at Darenth with its out-buildings covers two and a half acres, and has a continuous row of rooms over a hundred yards in length. They were not mere residences. Like English country houses of a century back, they necessarily included space for work required on the estate, and traces of arrangements for

tanning, dyeing, fulling, have been detected, or at least conjectured. The living rooms of the larger houses were often finely decorated with figured mosaics on the floors and painted stucco on the walls, and sometimes challenge comparison in size with those of spacious country-houses in modern England. The splendour of these things, and in particular of the mosaics, has been grossly exaggerated by many writers ; but the remains are perhaps adequate to prove that a prosperous landowning class, Romanised in life and habits, existed in fourth-century Britain. Some of these Romano-British landlords were doubtless wealthy and powerful: in the fifth century they became more than landlords. After 410 or some approximate year the central administration in Italy, half wrecked by many disasters, ceased to send the usual governors to far-away Britain. As we rather loosely put it, the Romans then evacuated Britain. Their place was taken by provincial leaders, and these leaders seem to have come forth from the ranks of the more powerful landowners. Such were Vortigern (if he ever existed) and Aurelius Ambrosianus ; such the princes whom that irascible priest Gildas denounces with such furious and inane verbosity.

We have noticed villas and landowners. Before concluding this article, let us cast a glance at the peasantry. It is not a superfluous employment. The rustic poor of a country rarely affect its history, even when they rise in revolt as Bagaudæ or Jacquerie or the like. But they have a curious persistent force. Superstitions, sentiments, beliefs, even languages and consciousness of nationality linger dormant among them, unnoticed or unknown to the upper dominant classes, till upheaval and revolution come. Then the long-buried seeds are thrown out again on the surface, and forgotten plants blossom once more. Thus the Welsh language and nationality survived in Wales, the Czech in Bohemia, the Slovene in Carinthia, to emerge, with varying degrees of vitality, a strange puzzle to governments, in our own day. We know little of the rustic poor in Roman Britain, but the excavations of General Pitt-Rivers in Cranborne Chace tell us something. Three little villages, all close together, have been examined. They are poor places, rudely surrounded with low circular earthworks. The houses were sometimes pits sunk in the ground, with surface drains to prevent flooding. Others were circular huts, others square, and in this detail Roman civilisation seems to have made impression. They were warmed with rough copies of Roman hypocausts : some contained ornamental

plastering in Roman style. All about the village were refuse pits, not unfrequently utilised as convenient grave-holes for the dead. The objects in common use—pottery, coins, metal ware—are just such products of Roman civilisation as we meet in any Romano-British town or villa, but poorer and simpler. But as one turns over General Pitt-Rivers's multitudes of illustrations, one gets the idea that the men and women who dwelt here can hardly have known much of the Roman language or adopted the Roman civilisation in its higher meaning. These villages do not seem to be exceptional. Very similar remains have been noted at various points in the valley of the Thames between Wallingford and Oxford. Among their inhabitants, we may believe, Celtic sentiment and speech lingered, and when the Romanised Briton was cut off from Rome and stood between the Saxon and the Irish, it may be that we should ascribe to this poor class quite as much as to Irish influences the ultimate revival of Celtic life among the Britons.

But that is looking beyond the limits of our subject. Within the space and time covered by Roman Britain, one criticism is true of all the various aspects of civil life which we have reviewed. In all alike one notices that Roman civilisation is dominant and native fashions yield to it. There was a Celtic art—usually called Late Celtic—in Britain before the Roman conquest. It was a real art, producing metal-work and pottery, which was both individual and characteristic. In Roman Britain that art is barely visible. At one or two places, as, for instance, near Castor and Chesterton, on the banks of the Nen in Northamptonshire, pottery was made with some late Celtic ornament; at one or two places as far off as Brough under Stainmoor in Westmoreland, *fibulae* were designed on a Late Celtic pattern. And the Celtic discovery of enamelling was certainly not forgotten in Britain or even in Rome itself. But the commonest finer pottery of the province, the red glazed ware styled 'Samian,' was mostly imported from Gaul and was simply an imitation of an Italian fabric. So, too, the mosaics and stucco paintings of the 'villas,' and the little objects of poor domestic life in General Pitt-Rivers's villages, agree in being copies of Roman originals and showing no trace of native art. It is not only that the Late Celtic fashions vanished. That was inevitable; for local fashions, however charming, disappear without exception before the advent of a city civilisation, with its prestige and its neat manufactures. But the Romano-British art which succeeded them had no

individuality of its own. It was not a vigorous provincial growth out of Roman originals, such as arose in some provinces: it was in the main a characterless copy. The Late Celtic art lived on in Ireland and Scotland: there the workers in metal continued to produce their beautiful ornaments, and in time the craft of Irish illumination grew up to influence the artistic development of Europe. In Britain a skilful imitative art prevailed till Britain was cut off from Rome and vanished before the Saxon. Its character and its fate are those of all civil life in *Britannia Romana*.

This civilisation of little towns, smaller villages, and large estates was not diversified by any flourishing industry or trade. The ancient world possessed, of course, no industrial activity that can be compared with our own: as the German economist, Rodbertus, observed long ago, it had neither capital nor labour in our sense of those terms. But of such industrial life as obtained in the Roman Empire there was little trace in Britain. The landowners, as we have said, produced wool and wheat, and the wool was made into cloth, and that is nearly all. The mineral wealth of the province was moderate. There was a little gold in the Welsh mountain streams, but most of that had been collected before the Romans reached our island. There was iron in the Weald of Sussex and the Forest of Dean, and silver-bearing lead in Mendip and in Flintshire and elsewhere, and the refuse-heaps of the miners can still be seen by the curious. The refuse-heaps near Cheddar have been re-worked in recent times, with little profit, we believe, to the workers, though with much profit to the learned in the shape of archaeological discoveries. But these mines were probably on a far smaller scale than mines in many other provinces, and to a considerable extent they ceased to be worked about the end of the second century. The famous Cornish tin mines seem hardly to have been worked at all: the countless dreams and debates of which they have been the object are baseless and idle. The facts are tolerably plain. The Romans advanced as far as Exeter in the earliest years of the conquest. There they stopped. Dartmoor stood in their way, and it is plain that nothing tempted them beyond it. Possibly the Spanish tin had ousted the British: possibly the Cornish ores had been exhausted on the surface; certainly no writer after Cæsar mentions tin in Britain. It was not till the third century that Rome cared to occupy Cornwall effectively and tin was mined. Even so it was mined but little. The list of

remains is brief—a few tin jugs, dated by coins found in them, some lettered ingots dredged up out of the Thames at various times, and one large ‘pig’ with an Imperial stamp, still preserved in a Cornish museum, though only detected nine years ago. All belong to the third or fourth century, and testify to but slight activity. So unreal is the reputation of Romano-British tin.

The province of Roman Britain which we have been summarily considering has, then, its definite features—a powerful and important army garrisoning its frontiers, a number of large estates and small towns occupying its interior. It is very like the northern parts of Gaul, this side the Auvergne and the Cevennes. There, too, the garrison was large and posted along the frontier, the Rhine. There, too, municipalities of the Italian type were very rare, and large estates and small country towns abounded. But Gaul was then greater and richer than Britain. Both estates and towns were larger and more splendid, and another feature was added. Both Gaul and Britain had been inhabited by Celtic tribes before the Roman conquest: in Britain these cantons vanished, in Gaul they survived. The very names declare that. There were Atrebates on both sides of the Channel. The capital of the Gaulish canton was Nemetacum Atrebatum, and it is now Arras: the capital of the British was Calleva Atrebatum, and it is Silchester. The reason for the difference is again the difference in wealth. The powerful Gaulish cantons survived and gave their names to their tribal centres: the weaker British disappeared. Thus much we can say in explanation of Roman Britain, by comparison with Gaul. Some day we shall say more. When our archaeologists have explored the Wall of Pius and the Wall of Hadrian, when our Universities help the good work more freely, when our local societies allot to excavation some real part of the income which they now lavish on Transactions, when many admirable efforts of to-day have become even more admirable, we may be able to draw a clearer and a surer picture.

ART. V.—1. *Sir Henry Wotton*. A Biographical Sketch by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, Litt. D.D., Hon. LL.D., Principal of the Owens College at Manchester, Hon. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. London: 1898.

2. *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*. London: 1685.

3. *Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton, &c.*, from the originals in the Library of Eton College. Roxburghe Club, London: 1850.

4. Unpublished Papers preserved in the Record Office.

THE fame of Sir Henry Wotton has been preserved by a concurrence of accidents in a greenness, not beyond his merits, but beyond what might have been reasonably expected from his writings and the record of his actions; if indeed there is any reason in such expectations in a world where repute is only

‘Un fiato

Di vento, ch’or vien quinci ed or vien quindi,
E muta nome, perchè muta lato.’

In the first and chief place, he had for biographer his friend and companion of ‘the Fly and Cork,’ the contemplative angler, Izaak Walton, whose style, to use a conceit of the time, could, amber-like, have embalmed and enshrined a weaker name. In the second place, his portrait hangs at Eton, inviting our interest by the single word ‘Philosophemur,’ and the glance of humorous inquiry which corresponds to the word. He wrote two or three poems which are remembered, and among them ‘one imperishable lyric;’ he wrote a letter to John Milton setting out on his travels; a few of the ‘apothegms or sentences,’ for which he was noted in an age of apophthegms, have been preserved; and he lies under a stone inscribed with a motto which, if not profound, is pithy, and has been much discussed.* A figure to provoke the question, more easily asked than answered, what manner of man he was; for, after all, not very much is known of him. He might have said himself that though a glass were made to hold liquor, the Venice glass was more precious than the liquor poured into it. The glass is broken; but the fragments of it may well or ill be pieced together.

Such accidents do not concur in one person merely by acci-

* ‘Disputandi pruritus fit ecclesiarum scabies.’

dent. There must be a congruity in the subject to make them cohere. Wotton, it would seem, was to be known rather by manner than by matter. His chance moments, the felicities of his leisure, were more regarded than the solid business which it fell to him to conduct, to all appearance ably and discreetly, on no ignoble theatre. The main work of his life, whether in the ten years which he spent as a young man in making acquaintance with foreign countries, or the fifteen, more or less, during which he was ambassador at Venice and elsewhere, is forgotten. He is remembered by twelve years of declining age and health in a not wholly contented retirement; for Wotton, though he loved his retirement and took an active interest in the school and college over which he was called to preside, never was tempted to say with John Hales, his daily associate at Eton, 'I have that preferment I desire.' In truth, his fortunes and his character were not altogether well suited. Men make their fortunes, and their fortunes make them. To doubt in choosing, whether in small or great, makes the finer critic but the less effective man. Men with a 'dual nature,' such as Dr. Ward justly ascribes to Wotton, must either make their choice between books and affairs early and finally, or spend life in hankering after both. But, on the other hand, the bookish man may be saved from dreams by the dull or absorbing business of the day, and the man of affairs may enliven and ennoble his leisure with better amusements than those which satisfied Walpole and Palmerston. But the choice must be made. Literature will not, except in rare instances, yield her fruits to the man of action; nor will men readily entrust their affairs to a student. One conspicuous example to the contrary was always before Wotton's eyes—the illustrious Paolo Sarpi. Like him, though on a lower level, Wotton had studied natural philosophy, theology, law, history; like him, he had been caught in the net of politics, from which, as he says (perhaps with some regret), none once entered can ever disentangle; like him, he was a man of 'infinite discourse' and of many beginnings; and here it is that the difference between them lay. There was nothing tentative in Fra Paolo. His constructive and logical intellect saw the end through the beginning, and made straight for it, disposing of details in his easy and capacious grasp, and ranking them according to their pertinency. Wotton would turn aside to pluck flowers; he loved conceits and phrases; his treatise on architecture lacked the architectonic spirit; his works on

education and history ran dry and were never finished; he was born for analysis, not for construction. And so we go to him rather to be pleased than to be instructed, and we are inclined to think that he did the world better service in dealing with papers (to use the phrase applied to him by Donne) than he would have done if books had been his trade. Rich in the friendship of Bacon, Casaubon, Donne, and other wits, he had a good introduction to the world of books, had that been his vocation: and we may doubt with Dr. Ward whether there was not some self-delusion in the account of his own wishes given in a letter to Sir Arthur Throckmorton written from Venice in 1611, in which he speaks of the name 'of a 'poor scholar' being 'the highest of his own titles, and in 'truth the furthest end of his ambition.'*

Wotton was in truth an ambitious man. It was believed that he was likely to have the post of Secretary of State on Salisbury's death, and by his recommendation, and again in 1617; and even as late as 1625 he was said to be 'putting in for' the Secretaryship or—an incongruous alternative—the Deanery of Canterbury. He had good reason for thinking that the ladder of promotion would take him higher than the Venice embassy. When he found, at the age of fifty-six, that it was not to be so, and that the Provostship of Eton was no step to greater fortune, but only a dignified quietus to his hopes of advancement, he mistook his chafing after an active employment in affairs of state for a desire to distinguish himself in literature. It was too late. He had played with literature all his life, but had worked at public business; and we are to judge him rather by what he did than by what he designed, by the letters written from his embassies rather than by his treatises and poems; and his delightful portrait by Izaak Walton is, after all, only a likeness in profile, and perhaps drawn in an imperfect perspective.

When we inquire what, setting apart a few acknowledged poetical gems, is the value of Sir Henry Wotton's writings, we must agree with Dr. Ward that they are not, 'as a whole, 'worthy of his powers.' Dr. Ward might have said more than this. There is little of the fire of genius in Wotton's serious attempts at prose literature. The substance of them is not unfrequently commonplace, and the style is unequal. There is much felicity of diction, appositeness of allusion, wit and humour, the observation and discourse of a 'travelled'

* Ward, p. 5; *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 275.

man; and when the style is at its best it is admirable in force, delicacy, and freedom. On the other hand, the author does not show himself as a man of great learning, or specially well acquainted with the literature—except the historical literature—of the age. He nowhere, so far as we have observed, mentions Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, Montaigne, or Cervantes. His historical allusions do not go much beyond the limits of Plutarch, Tacitus, Lucan, and Juvenal.

The ‘Survey of Education,’ full of practical shrewdness and observation, has no clear plan of construction. The treatise on Architecture, which has had the honour of being translated into Latin and prefixed to the works of Vitruvius, contains little that is valuable or original. The religious-dramatical Soliloquy of Abraham on Mount Moriah is hardly worthy of Hannah More. The Panegyric of Charles I. is turgid and dull. On the other hand, the treatise entitled ‘The State of Christendom’ deserves, we think, higher praise than is given to it by Dr. Ward. It is more vigorous in style than most of his writing, it shows a familiar knowledge of current events and wide reading of universal history, and in bulk it is the author’s principal work.

Those of the Characters or Parallels which deal with historical personages, though they may have no great historical value, contain, like all Wotton’s writings, original or humorous sayings: as, for instance, ‘All that went for good or bad in Cæsar was clearly his own;’* at Hastings ‘The English would not run away, and the Normans could not;’† ‘Great deservers do grow intolerable presumers.’‡ The characters of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, Buckingham, and Essex have the interest which attaches to ‘appreciations’ made by a contemporary who had known both men, and Essex intimately, and had spent his life among politicians.

Such ‘Characters’ were in the taste of the day, and may be instructive as well as ornamental. The characters of Clarendon are part of our heritage. Those of his contemporaries may be read with curiosity, but do not hold a high place in literature; and with them may rank Wotton’s estimates of William the Conqueror and Henry VI. From the same storehouse of observation and reflexion came the Aphorisms, a number of which are collected in the

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 212. † Ibid. p. 101. ‡ Ibid. p. 104.

'*Reliquiæ*,' entitled 'On Education,' though they are not connected with that subject only, while others are scattered plentifully through his letters and other writings. Dr. Ward says of these :---

'In Wotton's case everything combined to perfect in him the art of pregnant and pithy diction. . . . The "Aphorisms of Education" are, in my judgment, of rare excellence : wise, without uncalled-for solemnity ; shrewd, without an unpleasant flavour of cynicism ; but the liking for strings of polished stones is an acquired one, and some of us have never been able to acquire it. The strong wittiness of style for which the production is pre-eminently noticeable will, however, be found exemplified in a less provocative fashion in almost every page of Wotton's prose. It brings his set compositions home to us with the ease of familiar letters, while his letters in their turn impress their purpose with the force of oratorical design. His pen is never at a loss for simile or metaphor, now bold, now homely, but always telling, and introduced without effort, as pearls are cast up by the sea.' (P. 147.)

The thinkers of that epoch took pleasure in such generalisations. The scientific school, from the times of Bacon down to our own day, has taught us to mistrust short cuts to wisdom. Universal propositions about human nature should be based on many instances. The proverbial or aphoristic philosophy of mankind is a philosophy of experience unconsciously concluded from an infinite number of instances. Practical men and philosophers alike spend their lives in generalising, consciously or unconsciously. Beyond this, the eye of genius can combine into a focus experiences and instances which to the common view have no connexion with each other. This is why we read Bacon's *Essays* in the light of common experience, and test experience by Bacon's *Essays*. The aphorisms of Bacon, Aristotle, Thucydides, and Tacitus, take a place of authority by the side of scientific inductions.

If we enquire why the combining of generalisations into aphorisms was specially in vogue during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we may perhaps find the answer in the following considerations. The old foundations of consent had been shaken in the upsetting of religious dogma by the Reformation. The world was occupied in settling principles, and seeking some new authority to take the place of the old : since without authority for premisses there could be no extension of knowledge. In religion, authoritative dogma and liberty of thought are incompatible ; but the Reformers, both Lutheran and Evangelical, made use of the liberty of thought which they

had gained to frame new and inconsistent standards of deductive dogma. In natural philosophy, Bacon and Descartes had not yet converted the world to that suspension of opinion till proof is established, which is expressed in the saying 'Hypotheses non fingo;' still less that sense of the relativity of all conceptions which is in our day disturbing the finality of scientific results, and leading to a belief, not that truth is never to be attained, but that we have not yet, even in material inquiries, got to the bottom of the well. Science, even in Bacon's hands, was overlaid by such imperfect or untrue generalisations as that 'Nature abhors a vacuum,' 'Air is predatory,' 'Similia similibus curantur;' hypotheses such as that of phlogiston were invented to account for phenomena beforehand; the old theory of complexions held its ground; principles (hot, cold, moist, and dry), virtues, capacities, periods, tropics, spheres of activity, were looked upon as causes of phenomena, not as convenient ways of classifying facts.

At the same time, the mine of scientific knowledge was being worked with new powers and new engines. Such names as Gilbert, Galileo, Torricelli, Harvey, and many others indicate not only new knowledge and a new method, but a growth of theory also; for knowledge grew so rapidly that old theories could not keep pace with it. Caution and discovery seldom go hand in hand; the sense of power which comes with increased knowledge is a temptation to generalise and theorise.

These considerations may, we think, partly explain the 'rage for definitions' to which Dr. Ward points as one of the tendencies of that time. A fashion once set is sure to be followed. As the men of science propounded theories, which, if not of permanent value, might be useful as a guide to experiment - an art then in its infancy - so the philosophical speculators, and writers of *belles-lettres*, propounded generalisations in aphoristic form; and Wotton's are neither better nor worse than others.

Wotton's aphorisms, and the considerations by which they are supported, show a man of more subtlety than solidity, more intuition than fulness: they are nuts to crack, and the kernel is not always so good as the outside show. But they always contain experience and observation. If we take the first, 'Time is the plainest legend, and every day 'a leaf is turned,' we find that the 'legend of Time' means the voice of the age; and the writer takes occasion of the usefulness of daily experience to commend the custom of

the English universities in demanding not only an Act, as the foreign universities did, but also residence, and 'a certain expence of time.' The comment on 'They who travel far, easily miss their way' is 'He least discredits his travels who returns the same man he went.' 'Somewhat of the Gentleman gives a tincture to a Scholar, too much stains him,' introduces a stroke of satire against those who think more of knowing some 'terms of hunting or horsemanship, which few that are studious understand, than they blush to be known ignorant in that which every man ought to know, to which' snobbishness (as we should call it) 'I have known none more inclined than those whose birth did neither require, nor fortune encourage them to, such costly idleness.' Another dark saying, 'The sincerest liberality consists in refusing, and the most innocent thrift in saving,' is made clear by what follows: 'the bestowing of gifts is more glorious [i.e. gains more credit] than the refusing of bribes.' 'The active man riseth not so well by his strength as the expert by his stirrup' speaks for itself, and is as true in the days of democracy as under a Stuart king. It may be completed by another: 'Felicity shows the ground where industry builds a fortune.'

These sentences and the like are the produce of experience in affairs. The travelled man had learnt that hope and fortune are neither to be commanded nor controlled, and that neither those who snatch nor those who wait are sure of the prize. Wotton was himself to learn that the good things of the world cannot be held with security. His aphorisms are the result of personal observation; they interpret his own character, and lead us to the conclusion that '*Philosophemur*' meant to him, not what it meant to Henry More and Bacon, but rather what it meant to Montaigne and Theophrastus.

This quality—that of the reflective and discursive man of action and conversation—gives its principal charm to the correspondence contained in the '*Reliquiæ*.' Those letters which deal with the affairs of Europe, and particularly of England and Venice, will not interest any but students of history; but in these, too, every page gives evidence of a rich and delicate temperament. The letters of friendship, especially those addressed by Sir Henry to his nephew-in-law Sir Edmund Bacon, and to John Dinely, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, are worthy of more attention than they generally receive. If the style of these letters is too ceremonious and literary to suit modern

readers, it is the style which belongs to the early seventeenth century, and may be seen at its height in such elegant extravagances as the complimentary speeches made by Chancellors and Speakers at their admission to office, or in the writings of Sir Symonds D'Ewes and other Euphuists. Quaint conceits, far-fetched analogies, choice words, verbal fancies, historical instances, paradoxes, counted for much in the elegant writing of the Jacobean and Caroline age. One of its most distinguishing features is the employment of scientific analogies, the embers of mediæval philosophy stirred into a dying flame by the wand of Bacon (if this be not too euphuistic an expression), a use of illustration dragged into argument which is distasteful to readers of to-day, and which should have perished with scholasticism. This pursuit of conceits was soon to give place to the serious treatment of prose by Clarendon and his successors. It was absent from the prose of Hooker; it was elevated into poetry in that of Milton; it sinks into grotesqueness in Collier and Burton; it adds fancy to Bunyan's directness, and a grace to the erudition of Jeremy Taylor.

Only the greatest wits rise above faults of fashion, as only the greatest poets rise above their own style. It would be well if modern readers were less intolerant of 'old-fashioned' terms of expression, and had elasticity enough to perceive that fashion, old or new, has nothing to do with nature in books or people. It is as unreasonable to be offended at the language of a past age, as it would be to wish our contemporaries to write and speak in the language of the twenty-first century. Scott is now old-fashioned; Dickens is old-fashioned; George Eliot is getting out of date; and thirty years hence Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. Crockett will be old-fashioned too. This is the meaning of the common saying, that old books are the best books. It is not a question of old and new: the ancients or the Elizabethans had no more a monopoly of good writing than the monks and freemasons had a monopoly of good building. The bad books and the bad buildings have mostly perished, 'old' books and 'old' buildings are those which have stood the test; and the qualities which stand the test are independent of fashion.

But this is a digression. All styles have their weak side, the side of fashion, and Wotton shared the faults of the Jacobean style. We would recommend any one who wishes to enjoy the '*Reliquiæ*' to disregard as much as possible the euphuistic jargon by which they are coloured, and to read

through them the nature, delicate, cultivated, pensive, and noble, of the writer himself.

The truest analogy to an epistolary style is that of speech. The best letters resemble the best talk. If either is too consecutive, the one becomes a sermon or an oration (as Macaulay was said to have talked 'Edinburgh Review'), the other an essay, or disquisition; examples of which style may be found in every age: too discursive, the talk ceases to be interesting, and the letter degenerates into jottings. What makes good talk and good letter-writing is the personal element. A good talker knows or learns to know his company, and likes what they contribute as much as his own share. The good letter-writer thinks 'this will please him 'best;' he is aware not only of what he has to say, but of the '*pensée au dehors*' to which it is addressed; and thereby he makes the reader of the correspondence wish to know the person to whom the letters were written. The late William Cory used to say that letters should be written *from*, not *to*. But the personal factor is prominent in the best correspondence. Madame de Grignan, Maurice and Jeanne are almost as familiar to us as Madame de Sévigné and George Sand. We know all the Mendelssohn family nearly as well as Felix himself; the Guérin circle; the Tourgueneff circle. The French beat us at it: but how much we learn of Shelley, Leigh Hunt, Tom Moore, and Murray from Byron's letters; how much of Wordsworth and Coleridge from Charles Lamb's letters, beyond what the solemn biographies record; and how we wish for more tidings of George Dyer and Manning, from Cathay or anywhere. We love Cowper and his ladies, Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, all the better for the letters, without which, indeed, the ladies would have been forgotten, like many other dear ladies who had no famous correspondents. On the other hand, the personality of Lord Sheffield or of Philip Stanhope interests us but moderately, because the writer of the letters addressed to each of them is thinking of himself. One of the best and most instructive features of a good biography is a wise choice of letters to and from the subject of the book: as, for instance, those of FitzGerald and Spedding to Tennyson, and his replies to them. 'Letters,' as Newman said, 'are facts,' even Cardinal Manning's letters; and much of what goes for biography is only opinion or subjective portrait painting.

Not much need be said here about Sir Henry Wotton's poems. Those which deserve to be known are known to all, and the rest may be left in the '*Reliquiæ*' for the amusement

or instruction of any readers who care to seek them there.
A poem on 'A Woman's Heart'—

'Untrue she was: yet I believed her eyes
 (Instructed spies),
Till I was taught that Love was but a school
 To breed a fool.

Excuse no more this folly; but for cure,
 Blush and endure
As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:
 And think, 'tis gain
To know that Love, lodg'd in a woman's breast,
 Is but a guest'—

may be either a youthful 'copy of verses,' or a real experience: an echo of a hundred such complaints, or a sincere farewell to love-passages. At any rate, no women, so far as we know, engaged Wotton's affection, except the Queen of Bohemia, who became the Queen of Hearts to him as to many others at her marriage ('the conjunction of the Thames and the Rhene') to the Elector Palatine, and his favourite niece, Sir Edmund Bacon's wife; and his only allusion to matrimony is the humorous suggestion that in the embarrassed state of his fortunes 'peradventure he might 'light on a widow that would take pity on him.* The playful pastoral, 'Sir H. Wotton and Serjt. Hoskins riding on their way,' does not tell any personal story.† It must remain an unsolved question whether or not Wotton was ever a lover.

The poem 'On his Mistress the Queen of Bohemia,' written in 1620, is (as Dr. Ward terms it) 'an imperishable lyric.' 'The Character of a Happy Life,' 'On a bank as I sate a-fishing: a Description of the Spring,' 'A Description of the Country's Recreations,' the 'Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton,' are in every anthology. But when we come to such lines as the following in the 'poor Rhimes' (as he justly calls them) addressed 'to a noble Friend‡ in his sickness'—

'Had not that blood, which thrice his veins did yield,
 Been better treasur'd for some glorious day,
At furthest West to paint the liquid field,
 And with new worlds his master's love to pay?'—

* Eton MSS. (Roxburghe Club), p. 17.

† Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 378.

‡ The Duke of Buckingham, Dr. Ward thinks.

we are reminded of the medical Muse of the advertisements; and in his translation of Psalm civ. he sinks below Sternhold and Hopkins. It is strange that any writer should move in so wide a circle of taste, but the same inequality is observable in all Wotton's writings; and it is therefore possible that he was not always the best critic of his own work. It should be said, in justice to the author, that he undervalued his own writings, and wrote much more than he printed. 'Through certain fastidious fumes from my spleen . . . I have been kept in such jealousy of my own conceptions, that some things under my pen have been born very slowly.'* He began 'divers things in wild sheets, that think and struggle to get out, of several kinds, some long promised, and some of a newer conception.'† A Life of Luther, a History of England, a History of Venice, a Life of Donne (the foundation of that published by Izack Walton), were taken up and laid down, and much that remains is fragmentary. No doubt many writings were burned by him a few days before his death, when, as Walton tells, he had a fire made in his study for that purpose, thus carrying into action the conceit of his friend who wrote over his fireplace '*optimus secretariorum*.'

Sir Henry Wotton's choice between papers and books, public life and literature, whether fortunate or not, was not wholly his own. It was made for him, as is commonly the case, by family considerations. He was a younger son with a small provision; and his family had taken diplomacy for their profession. He had good friends at Court to speak for him, and his education at Winchester and Oxford, and then for several years in Germany, Geneva, and Italy, was the best possible education as regards general education, languages, knowledge of foreign life, and intelligence of European affairs, for the office of a 'lieger' or resident ambassador. With his chaplain and his secretary and enough money to live handsomely, Wotton at Venice could pick up political intelligence, get his share of intercepted letters, magnify his master's greatness, and do whatever could be done by a resident foreigner for the promoting or averting of wars and alliances, commercial contracts and private friendships, and combine in himself the character of consul and ambassador.

The story of Wotton's first introduction to James VI. at Stirling is so well told by Walton that we will not spoil it

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 339.

† Ibid, p. 468,

by repeating it out of its place. The humour of presenting himself as 'Octavio Baldi,' an Italian, must have amused the king, and that this was so may be gathered from the fact that his letters to the king, written from Venice, have this signature; whilst the warning against assassination which he brought from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with a case of antidotes against poison, pointed him out to James for future employment as 'the most honest, and therefore the 'best dissembler that ever he met with.'

He would appear to have been about the English Court in the first year of James I.'s reign, and was sent in 1604, at the age of thirty-six, as ambassador to Venice, which city he preferred as being a less chargeable residence than Paris or Madrid, and which was his home for the next sixteen years of his life.

The Republic of Venice occupied a peculiar position among the Catholic powers of Europe. As a neighbour state, bordering on the papal dominions, it was the interest of Venice to keep on terms with the Pope; for the same reason it was her interest not to be at the Pope's bidding. The two Courts were alike in one respect—that both were much bound by tradition and precedent. Papal authority and national independence were as little reconcilable at Venice as in France or Spain: near neighbourhood increased difficulties which time and distance have power to modify, but also suggested means of compromise, and both parties learnt how to avoid a breach of amity. The imperious temper of Paul V., raised to the Papacy in 1605, endangered the ancient liberty of Venice. The Republic resisted his bidding, sent the Nuncio home, shut up the Inquisition, and expelled the Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins. Paul V. laid the Republic under an interdict; the Senate forbade its publication under pain of death, and kept the churches open. When it appeared that the Spanish Government was disposed to support the Roman contention by armed interference, the Senate, instead of accepting at Wotton's instance the dangerous friendship of the Protestant powers, preferred the mediation of Henry IV., a prince whose Catholic position was as unquestioned as his Protestant sympathies, and Henry sent Cardinal de Joyeuse, a prince of the blood, to act in his name. Finally, the Pope (says Walton) 'saw 'plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and 'offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; 'which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by 'that which was scarce so much as a show of acknowledging

'it.' This episode is of importance in Wotton's life, because it taught him how much and how little the Protestant cause in Europe had to hope from Venetian support, which was in fact neither more nor less than what James I. himself was willing to risk; for James was doing, as Father Paul said, '*quod e re sua fuit, non quod e nostra;*' and because it brought him into close relations with the kindred spirit of that great man, whom he calls, among many other terms of high appreciation, 'the most deep and general scholar of the world,'* 'a man of miraculous learning, prudence, and integrity.'

Had the dispute occurred twenty years later, it is possible that Venice might have found herself in active co-operation with the Duke of Savoy and the Protestant princes against the League and the Papal See, and might have seceded from the Roman obedience, though not from the creed of Rome. 'Padre Paulo' was no heretic, though he spoke and wrote freely of the anti-papal cause as the cause of religion, and though Wotton calls him, on Bedell's authority, 'a sound Protestant;' and neither the Government nor the people of Venice had any desire for a religious reformation.

To Wotton, as to Sarpi, the principal danger to the cause of religion was what Sarpi nicknamed the 'Diacatholicon,' the combination of the Spanish power and the Jesuits to put down freedom of conscience. To work against this was worth more than to consider points of agreement and difference between the Churches. He speaks a counsel beyond the wisdom of his day when he expresses a wish that the Lutheran princes would 'lay aside bitterness against those of the Reformed [Calvinist] Church, and unite them, if not in opinion, yet at least in a charitable consent against the practices of the Roman Church,'† and he would, we may be sure, as gladly have welcomed, if not a fusion, at any rate a friendly relation with a depapalised Church of Venice, as with the Lutherans of Saxony or the Calvinists of Scotland or the Palatinate. The word 'Protestant'—unpopular in these days, but accepted by Laud and Charles I., even on the scaffold—would have joined all in a single interest in spite of differences of opinion.

As a Protestant and the representative of a nation which stood in the forefront of the Protestant body, Wotton was

* State Papers MSS. Venice, 1607.

† Eton MSS. (Roxburghe Club Publications, 1850), p. 107.

applied to by persons from all countries in need of protection. 'And this,' says Walton, 'I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him who was (during his stay in those parts) as a City of Refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.'

Venice in 1620 is a *terra incognita* compared with a slowly changing place like Eton, where we know him best; but it is possible to obtain from Wotton's letters written thence some idea of the ambassador's life in his palace, his conferences with the Senate and the Council of Ten,* his close attention to the civic and political business of the Venetian government, the election of Doges, and appointment of generals and procurators; in spite of the 'vaporous air' of the lagoons, which, he thought, predisposed him to ague and fever; for Wotton was something of a valetudinarian, and had some smatterings of medicine; and, though he would rather have been in Germany at the centre of politics, and nearer to his 'incomparable mistress,' Elizabeth, Venice suited him well as a place of residence. The city was a paradise; the very house fronts were glorified from roof to basement with frescoes by Giorgione or Paul Veronese, and every church and palace contained masterpieces of 'Titiano or some other principal hand, done long before my time;' while, as he passed in his gondola along the canals, his eyes were delighted with noble specimens of the architecture which he loved as a dilettante and as a student. Though he writes in a fit of spleen that 'the definition of a Republique is a kind of government where one may lose all the goodwill in a morning which he hath hardly gotten in five years,' he liked the courtesy and dignity of the grave and reverend senators, who treated him with consideration and respect, feeling, no doubt, that in the British ambassador they had not only 'a spy of the times,'† but a friend of their state; their independent and cautious attitude in the great question of the day was intelligible to a man who was a Protestant tolerationist and a lover of peace; and he dreamed, perhaps, of a closer union between England and Venice than was possible. We see him pressing the claims on Venetian succour of the Duke of Savoy and the Protestants of the Grisons; helping to keep Spanish squadrons out of the Adriatic; or in his leisure time making scientific experiments, and catching 'a very troublesome cold with the observation of a new comet;‡ holding converse

with Father Paul through the medium of Dr. Bedell, his chaplain, 'the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, 'into his very soul,'* and with De Dominis, the unorthodox Archbishop of Spalatro; buying pictures by Titian, Bassano, and Palma; taking the air in his gondola to Murano and choosing glass there,† buying melon seeds of all kinds for the King, and yellow monthly roses (does the Dean of Rochester know any such?); entertaining and being entertained in a noble, hospitable fashion, better for the reputation of his country than for his own purse.

He acted with spirit and dignity on occasions where punctilio is more than a form of politeness. He boarded a Venetian galley, and liberated an English slave from the hands of a drunken captain, who paid dear for his insolence to the ambassador; he demanded explanation of the punishment inflicted on certain English mutineers in the Venetian fleet; he resented the suppression of King James's book by authority of the Grand Inquisitor, in words which gave offence ('*Tropo calore*,' said the Doge, but added good-humouredly, '*ma quel ch' è fatto è fatto*'): the King gave him little thanks for his boldness; and he procured the enlargement of Englishmen from the Inquisition prisons of Rome: 'for,' says he, 'I reckon Rome part of my charge.' One portion of an ambassador's business is to be well-informed; another is to promote the interest of the state from which he is accredited; and part (and a principal part) to be personally respected and, if possible, liked. All these conditions were fulfilled by Wotton; and he added another to these (the contrary to his well-known and unfortunate adage about 'lying abroad'), the habit of speaking the truth upon all occasions, 'for you shall never be believed'—a habit which need not exclude the *viso sciolto* and *pensieri stretti* of the letter to Milton, nor even such tricks of the trade as intercepting and reading letters from the seminarists at Douay and Rheims, thought likely to contain matters of interest. But when we find Sir Henry listening to the offers of a professional assassin who proposes to send 'a casa del 'diavolo' the Lords Tyrone and Tyrconnel and other malcontent Irishmen, then flourishing about Italy—true, they were attainted outlaws—we are surprised at his distinction between what is just and what is honourable, his suggestion to the assassin that 'kings liked to be served in such things 'without their own knowledge,' and his promise to James

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 330.

† Ibid. p. 317.

to do as his Majesty shall be further pleased to command him. Wotton might well have remembered that an ambassador may do worse things abroad than 'lie.' But neither the use of the lreling murderer nor the apology for it was confined to one side; and Wotton, in his 'State of Christendom,' justifies in a highly wrought oratorical passage the murder of the Duke of Guise by Henry III., and speaks of this irregular kind of warfare as one in which he had himself once thought of taking part.*

No great measure of renown is left to the inferior actors on so large a stage as that of the Thirty Years' War. Out of it emerge the pathetic figure of Frederick V.; his wife, a tragic heroine, the Queen of Hearts, the Rose of Bohemia, that 'most resplendent queen, even in the darkness of 'fortune,'† true heiress of the misfortunes of her ill-starred house; the gloomy meteor Wallenstein; the sunny strength of Gustavus Adolphus; the malignant influence of Ferdinand and Maximilian. Except for the heroes of Frankenthal, there is no place for the English in this roll of fame. The name of James I. is a synonym for meanness. Meanness infected all he did and designed. Mistaking the meaning of Elizabeth's parsimony and irresolution, and not seeing how they worked towards her ends, he thought that parsimony and irresolution were in themselves the ends of statecraft. Of the national zeal for the Palatinate and the Protestant cause, the stern Puritanism of the Scots, the serious religion of the English, the ardour for colonial advancement, he knew nothing; his one desire was to avoid responsibility and to outwit other kings, and thus he earned for himself the true title of 'the learned fool.' He preferred small instruments to great, sordid means to noble. He would not play false and yet would wrongly win. He allowed Frederick V. to hope for help in the Bohemian business, and threw him over. He talked about the Palatinate, but did nothing to save it. He balanced among the various interests, committing himself to none, till all the world knew that England counted for nothing in the game. There were moments when the Stuart king might have won military glory, political advantage, the greatest position in Europe, and with all this the love of his subjects, if he had known when and how to strike in. As Wotton wrote, almost at the moment of the Battle of

the White Hill, 'slight is the importance of ambassadors 'in troubled times; '* slighter still the importance of an ambassador whose master did not know his own mind, and did not even keep his servant acquainted with the shiftings of his own purposes. Wotton was predestined to be the instrument of failure; he does not, indeed, appear to have been a successful negotiator, 'always busy but despatching 'little: '† but it was no fault of his if England did not play a great part where the King of England chose to play a small one.

It fell to Wotton's lot, as a representative of Great Britain on the Continent, to be brought near to great events, though not to take a prominent part in them. In his first embassy, as we have noted, he was the friend and counsellor of Venetian statesmen in their quarrel with Paul V., In 1619-20 he came in contact with the vast problems of the Thirty Years' War. He was at first nominated as envoy to treat between the Emperor and the Bohemians. This commission was transferred to Lord Doncaster, but Wotton was sent on a special mission to the German Court and to Vienna itself. Here he did all that an English minister could do, 'striving to make peace where no peace was,' in obtaining at least a hearing for his master's proposals. But at this very moment the Battle of the White Hill before Prague was fought (November 8, 1620), and all was blood and fire.

The Thirty Years' War was not only a war of religion: it was also a contest between authority and anarchy, and the religious and secular elements in the quarrel are inextricably confused. The Emperor Ferdinand II., nominated in 1617 as hereditary successor to the throne of Bohemia, could, on his accession in 1619, be removed by nothing short of a revolution. The Protestant nobles of Bohemia were ready for revolution. They did not intend to give either religious toleration or political liberty to their dependents. The *Majestätsbrief* of Rudolph II., which granted a limited and uncertain toleration, did not content them. They wished to be able, each in his own domain, to set up their own worship and proscribe the Roman Catholic religion, even as Ferdinand had proscribed the Protestant religion in Styria and Carinthia, and to rule Bohemia as independent princes under a feudal suzerain. Ferdinand, brought up by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, could not endure such a blow to Catholicism. As

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 526.

† Calendar of State Papers, Dom. No. 31, Jan. 1615.

Emperor and King he must maintain his authority. The Elector Palatine, Frederick, by submitting to be elected King of Bohemia, declared war upon the Empire, and accepted the arbitrament of war. James I. saw this more clearly perhaps than his subjects, and tried to dissuade his son-in-law from accepting the dangerous honour of royalty. But, on the other hand, Frederick V. was the champion of Protestantism, and in particular of Calvinism, to which branch of the Reformed creed not only Scotland, but England too, was most inclined at that time. As a king and a peacemaker James disapproved of the Bohemian election; but as the successor of Queen Elizabeth and the head of a Protestant nation, with some pretensions to be the head of the Protestant cause in Europe, he must have wished for the success of Frederick, who was the husband of his daughter, and was doing his best to raise her from the condition of 'Goody Palsgrave' to that of an anointed queen. A just balance of arguments may be worthy of a Solomon, but when the fire is lighted it cannot be put out with arguments. We will not undertake to say that James I. had not some justification for his inaction. If not wise, he was shrewd, and knew that his subjects were likely to tire soon in a war in which they were not directly interested, and which would have cost much money. But if he had supported Frederick with an army in the Palatinate, it is probable that Sweden and Denmark would have entered earlier into the war, and James I. might have been a comrade in arms of Gustavus Adolphus in a short and glorious war.

Such speculations lead nowhither. Wotton's commission, though to all appearance discharged both boldly and discreetly, led to nothing. His contribution to the history of the moment is an interesting report of his negotiations in Germany; and a piece of advice addressed to the Protestant princes, in which he shows himself in advance of his contemporaries, whether Lutheran or Calvinist, 'to lay aside 'our own small differences, to suppress the heat of passion, to lay aside divines by civil authority' (a touch of the Church-and-State man, who approved of 'His Majesty's Declaration' prefixed in 1629 to the Thirty-nine Articles), 'and to join 'together against the common adversary of our Churches 'and States.'

While Wotton was negotiating, Frederick, as we said above, was losing his kingdom at the White Hill; and a few weeks later Wotton writes, 'I can deliver 'nothing but fluctuation and submission, the ordinary

‘consequences of victory.’ At the same time he learnt that the Emperor was disposed to apply to the Elector of Saxony (a more solid negotiator) rather than to the King of England for his good offices as a mediator. The facing-both-ways king had failed. There was nothing for Wotton to do but to go back to Venice, where ‘(as his Majesty’s ‘servant) he had the honour to be much expected and desired.’*

But his time as an ambassador was coming to an end. In 1622, having come home on leave, he received the unwelcome news that Sir Isaac Wake had been appointed, without any warning to himself, to succeed him at Venice, ‘that ‘honourable exile,’ as Bacon called it,† to which he had desired to return; and here his public life ended.

To Wotton the termination of his service as ambassador was not merely a return from exile. It was a change from a secure position and a sufficient income to the discomfort and uncertainty of place-hunting, and an embarrassed estate. He appears to have been both unfortunate and unskilful in his management of money. He had sold to his brother, Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left him by his father. He had sustained losses abroad, by fire, and by borrowing money ‘at more than twenty in the hundred.’ ‘He brought into England many servants, of which some ‘were German and Italian artists.’ He sent costly presents from Venice to the King; to Lord Salisbury, in 1608, ‘a ‘figure (I take it) of Prometheus devoured by the eagles, ‘done by Giacobbo Palma in concurrence with Titiano,’ which he thinks ‘worthy of a corner in one of your ‘Lordship’s galleries.’ He had a taste for pictures, statues, manuscripts (many of which he left to the College Library at Eton), transcripts of rare books, musical instruments, glass from Murano, curiosities, such as ‘a great loadstone,’ and a ‘crystal sexangular,’ and other expensive trifles. He was at one time actually arrested at Eton for debt; being indeed, as Izaak Walton says, ‘always so careless of money, ‘as though our Saviour’s words, “Care not for to-morrow,” ‘were to be literally understood.’ Perhaps he was too willing to live in the spirit of his own words; ‘Love of ‘learning and love of money are two things rarely seen ‘together,’ and ‘If I err not in mine own nature, money is ‘not dearer unto me than wisdom.’

There was nothing for it but to appeal to the Duke of Buckingham, the then dispenser of all Court patronage.

* *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 531.

† *Ibid.* p. 298.

'That which herein doth touch me,' he writes, 'I am loth to say in point of reputation, [but] surely much in my livelihood (as lawyers speak) is, that thereby, after seventeen years of foreign and continual employment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home; much like those seal-fishes, which sometimes (as they say) oversleeping themselves in an ebbling water, feel nothing about them but a dry shore when they awake. Which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men, that have so long served so gracious a master, any one to whom I may compare my unfortunate bareness.' *

This was the only occasion, as far as we know, on which he owed anything to the Duke of Buckingham, and indeed Buckingham would not appear to have acted very handsomely in the matter. Wotton had been promised the reversion of a Six Clerks' place in Chancery,† and of the Mastership of the Rolls, and had a claim against the Government for large arrears of pay. Buckingham made him relinquish both reversions; and it was only after much begging that he was able to get 500*l.* of arrears paid him from the Treasury. 'He has lost his Embassy,' writes a news-gatherer, 'and gets nothing but fair promises.'

'After he had lain long at the Pool of Bethesda,' Buckingham seems to have given him the Provostship of Eton to be rid of him; 'a poor place,' he says, 'as indeed for the benefit I may well call it, though not for the contentment;' it was worth at that time, including allowances, some 1,500*l.* a year on a modern computation, and was not, perhaps, a sufficient compensation for enforced retirement; though, desired as it was by such competitors as Lord Bacon himself, Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Dudley Carleton, it cannot (says Dr. Ward) fairly be described as 'a place not considerable enough for a person of his merit.'

As far back as 1617, Sir Henry Savile being in declining health, the succession to the Provostship of Eton was much talked of among those who were looking out for places. Savile himself was sounded. He wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, his son-in-law—'I pray you have an eye that way. 'You are every way as eligible as I was, and your service may deserve much more. Yet one of your yoke-fellows, 'Sir Henry Wotton . . . was, as he told me himself, denied 'it by the king;' and a friend of Carleton writes, 'I see

* *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 320.

† Or the moiety of a place, it is not clear which. *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, pp. 352, 362.

‘ Sir Harrio [Savile] very forward in it.’* It seems strange that an old gentleman should discuss so pleasantly the prospect of his own decease; but such was the fashion of the day. Carleton, however, did not get the place, which was given to Thomas Murray, tutor to Prince Charles, in 1622—for Savile lived so long; and Murray also died in the spring of 1623, ‘when the canvas for the place began afresh.’

It might have been expected that James I. himself would have wished to honour and reward his old servant. But he may have thought that his debt to Ottavio Baldi was already paid; he may have borne a grudge for Wotton’s want of success in the impossible German legation, and for the unfortunate apophthegm written at Augsburg in Mr. Christopher Fleckmore’s ‘Album of Friends,’ ‘An ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country,’ † which Scioppius had pasquinaded all over Europe as an evidence that Jesuits were not the only equivocators. ‡ This epigram was said to have lost him his appointment as Secretary of State in 1612. At any rate, the King seems to have taken no active interest on his behalf, and to have left all undecided till Buckingham’s return from Spain; and Wotton owed his Elton office to the intercession of Prince Charles (then a frequent peacemaker and mollifier) rather than to the king or the duke.

It seems not ungenerous to surmise that Wotton had in some way given offence to Buckingham, and this surmise is not invalidated by Wotton’s evident anxiety to stand well with him. What he says directly of Buckingham is that he was ‘obnoxious to his memory *neque injuria neque beneficio*,’ saving that the Duke showed him an ordinary ‘good countenance;’ § and in another place || he writes, ‘I am two ways tied unto him: first, for his singular love to my never-forgotten Albertus . . . next, for my own particular, I hold by his mediation this poor place,’ &c. Probably there was some dissatisfaction; otherwise, why should a public servant of long experience and high pretensions have been removed from active employment against his own wish, and coldly recompensed? But when or how,

* S. P. Dom. MSS. xciii. 74; xcii. 106; cxi. 22.

† Walton’s ‘Life.’ The original must, we think, have been written in English; for without the ‘conceit’ (as Walton terms it) of the double sense of ‘lie’ there is no point in the saying.

‡ See letter to Welser in ‘Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.’

§ Ibid. p. 117.

|| Ibid. p. 552.

if it was so, offence was given there are no facts to show. It is to his credit that, brought up as he was among ceremonies, and noted both at home and abroad for his courtly bearing, the style of Wotton's complimentary writings is below rather than above the level of the times. 'Compliment,' he writes,* 'never agreed with my nature;' and again, to Lord Treasurer Weston:—

'I am condemned, I know not how, by nature, to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable goodness, that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of that text, *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.*'†

It is true that Wotton had no money to pay his way at a Court where nothing could be done without 'consideration'—that is, bribes; but when Cecil's death opened a prospect of the secretaryship, it was remarked that 'he is negligent' [i.e. of his own interest], and does not help himself in 'Court, where idolatry is necessary.' In his most adulatory phrases he seldom forgets good taste, and never reaches the point of absurdity which at that time good breeding almost demanded. It may perhaps not be unreasonable to suggest that a more humble suitor might have been more successful in getting higher promotion; and that 'a certain candour of soul that rises above flattery' was not his best recommendation. For here Wotton was to stop, and owe no more to James or Buckingham or Charles. The Stuarts were no judges of men, regarding, as they did, things and persons from too distant an altitude to observe distinctions among their servants. A Glamorgan, an Ormonde, or a Hopton was no more to Charles I. than a Goring or a Jermyn. Carr and Villiers rose to the level of Sejanus, while Selden and Falkland were disregarded; places and pensions were withheld and granted with impartial contempt for those who needed them. We need not wonder if Wotton was forgotten. He gained nothing by making snit to his friends at Court—as was the way of the times, and no discredit to him—from the King himself, to whom he went 'with pictures and projects,' to the latest favourite, for the Mastership of the Savoy,‡ 'the next good 'Deanery,' or other preferment, lay or ecclesiastical, which

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

might fall vacant; not without a hint that had he, like George Herbert, 'wrapt him in a gown,' he might have been 'a great Prelate' instead of an ill-paid ambassador at a distant Court, now put aside and neglected. No answer was given to his applications for further consideration; no promotion was given to him either in Church or State; and we do not see any evidence for the pension of 200*l.* or its increase to 500*l.* of which Dr. Ward speaks.*

We have no reason to suppose that Wotton's counsel was over-sought by Charles I., though probably no Englishman was better informed than he of the politics of Europe—'What the Swede intends, and what the French.' If Charles I. had known how to read character, Wotton would not have been left to read books at Eton, but would have been employed in affairs of state, and so might have added his name to the noble and unfortunate roll of those who toiled and suffered for an ungrateful master. *Nolite confidere in principibus* must often have been Wotton's thought. He had learnt how to bear disappointments in his experience of diplomacy, than which no better school can be found for 'letting out airy conceits' of success. He must have often practised in his retirement that *stringer di spalle* † which he tells us he had learnt in Italy, and bidden farewell to hope and fortune. 'My mind,' he writes in 1637, 'is in a right philosophical estate of health; that is, at an equal distance both from desire and hope; and ambitions of nothing, but of doing nothing and of being nothing: yet I have some employment of my thoughts to keep them from mouldering.' ‡ If we perceive in his later letters a graver and sadder tone than in those which he wrote from abroad, we may set it down, not to any souring of the *dolcezza di sangue* which made him so delightful a companion at his table, 'where,' says Walton, 'his meat was choice, and his discourse better,' and his guests 'such persons as brought their additions both of learning and pleasure,' but to declining years and failing health; and in part, it may be, to a sense that a college and the company of a few learned men, though among them was the 'ever memorable' John Hales, besides

* Izaak Walton says that Charles I. promised Wotton a pension of 500*l.*, but he does not say that the promise was performed; and if Wotton had indeed 500*l.* a year (equivalent to 1,500*l.* or more at the present day) in addition to the emoluments of his Provostship, he was not justified in complaining of poverty and a burden of debt.

† Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 542.

‡ Ibid. p. 467.

the friends who visited him from London or Windsor, were a poor compensation for the loss of the Court and the society of the best wits in England: a society in which he had moved as an equal among the most accomplished gentlemen, statesmen, and scholars of the time. It must have been hard, too, to exchange the affairs of Europe for college business; and only to hear by chance, and perhaps with no friend at hand who could discuss them intelligently, rumours and echoes of the 'landing of the King of Swedes' and other great events of which the time was pregnant. 'Some reliques of a harkning Humor,' as he phrases it—that is to say, a wish to hear what was going on in the world—still remained with him. 'Though I am a cloistered man in the condition of my present life, besides my confinement by infirmity, yet having spent so much of mine age among noise abroad, and seven years thereof in the Court at home, there doth still hang upon me, I know not how, a certain concupiscence of novelties.'* He debates 'whether he should be sorry that he is not of the Parliament' of 1628, as he had been in 1614 and 1625. He takes interest in all public affairs, home and foreign; and when he writes 'As for novelties of State, you are in the Center, and we rural Wights in the Circumference and Skirts, entertained with nothing but some cold icicles and droppings from you Londoners,'† and 'Among courtiers I am a wonder, as owls are among gay birds,'‡ we are sure that it was *res angusta* and weak health rather than want of curiosity that kept him away from London: unless indeed, as we hinted above, he had 'taken cold in his back' (i.e. been slighted in his absence), 'which is a dangerous thing in a Court.'§

These were but natural hankerings. His prevailing frame of mind is doubtless best described by Walton, who often visited him in his beautiful house at Eton, and at his fishing cottage, Black Potts, near the boys' Playing Fields.

'This money [the 500*l.* mentioned above], being part of his arrears,|| was by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the College; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning: the College being, to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully pro-

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 363.

† Ibid. p. 578 (1638).

‡ Ibid. p. 568.

§ Ibid. p. 437.

|| See preceding paragraph in Isaac Walton's 'Life.'

vided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was free from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not possibly shake; where he might sit in a calm, and looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers.'

'My thoughts are at rest,' he writes to his friend Nicholas Pey. 'Over my study door you shall find written *'Invidiæ Remedium.'*

Walton (as we said) describes his friend as philosopher and saint. There is no doubt of the sincerity of Sir Henry Wotton's Christianity. He was not one of those who give up the world because the world has given them up. There was nothing professional in his religion. His Christian faith and practice were so sincere that there was nothing unnatural to him in exchanging 'courtly weeds' for a surplice * and taking 'the degree of deacon.'

'I consider,' he writes to the King, 'that this resolution which I have taken is not unsuitable even to my civil employments abroad, of which for the most part religion was the subject' [that is to say, his 'life-long conflict with the Jesuit ascendancy in Europe'†]; 'nor to my observations, which have been spent in that way in discovering of the Roman arts and practices.'

His object was, in the first place, to hold his place 'canonically;' and he disclaimed all intention of proceeding to Priest's Orders and thereby qualifying himself for rich preferment.

'God knows, the nearer I approach to contemplate His greatness, the more I tremble to assume any cure of souls (even in the lowest degree) that were bought at so high a price. *Premant torcular qui vindemiant.*'

No man was ever more remote from hypocrisy than Sir Henry Wotton. His candour speaks in every page of his writings, his religion is as natural as his friendship, and we may accept as the true utterance of his heart his words to Hales quoted by Walton:—

'Though I have been and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by His grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise Him for it. And I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself, but He, that hath kept me to this great age, and let Him take the glory of His great mercy.' ‡

* *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 328.

† Ward, p. 24.

‡ *Izaak Walton*, ad fin.

In opinion he would seem to have inclined rather to the Calvinistic than the Arminian tenets: but he had no touch of the *disputandi pruritus*, would not have preaching polemical, wished Lutherans and Calvinists to sink their differences, had a good word for Papists, Arminians, and Puritans; and in short held more by the Church than by any of the Churches.

Walton's picture of the contemplative man in his hermitage can be partially filled by the letters which are printed in the 'Reliquie.' Wotton at once accepted his position in the College as naturally as if he had been bred there, on the principle *Spartam quam nectus es exorna*. He lived, as he has recorded in the great picture of Venice which he left to be hung *juxta mensam sociorum*, in perfect anity with the Fellows. He received into the Lodge several of the Oppidans or Commensals, the *fili nobiliores* whom King Henry wished to enjoy the benefits of his College. 'Your Anthony,' he writes in 1628 to his friend Dinely,* 'who is my guest every Saturday night, is well grown in stature and more in knowledge;' and a year later,† 'I could wish you at some times to quicken your Anthony here with a line or two which in Persius' phrase *patrum sapient*: not truly that I perceive any slackness in him, but you know what our Italian horsemen say, *Un cavali del Regno vuol anche gli sproni*.' He gives his full attention, as a man of business, to such details as the yearly audit and the granting of scholarships at Eton and King's--a troublesome affair, since in a time when everything was got by asking, great lords at Court, and even the King himself and his sister of Bohemia, interested themselves to ask for nominations.

'I am newly delivered,' he writes, 'of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the week of our annual election of scholars both into the seminary and out of it for King's College in Cambridge.'

In another letter he describes himself 'as intricate as a flea in a bottom of flax,' with this business on his hands, and promises to 'write at large after our Election, when my brains are settled.'‡ And again: -

'We have newly concluded our anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted election that (I verily believe) had ever before been seen, since this Nurse first gave milk, through no less than four commendatory, and one mandatory letter from the King himself;

* Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 557.

† Ibid. p. 568.

‡ Ibid. p. 452.

besides intercessions and messengers from divers great personages for boys, both in and out, enough to make us think ourselves shortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. . . . As the seas require some time to settle, even when the winds are ceased, so need our brains after such agitation.*

What a warm interest he took in the school and the boys themselves we know from the often-quoted passage in Walton's 'Life,' that 'he would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apothegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a 'growing scholar.' The pictures of Greek and Latin authors which he 'caused to be choicely drawn' in the school have disappeared; but the two rows of pillars which he set up, and probably designed, are still in their place, though few know them for his memorial.

We would gladly see a list of the persons whom he 'bountifully entertained at his table' where to dine, we may be sure, was 'to dine with good authors'—and in his house. One of them, we know, was John Milton, though that friendship was 'interrupted in the cradle.' Of his appreciation of the songs and odes in *Comus* 'whereunto I must 'plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our 'language; *ipsa mollities*,' Dr. Ward well remarks, 'Divination of this art is the supreme sort of criticism.' How much Milton himself valued it, he showed by printing Wotton's letter among his works. The letter has long been one of the choice delicacies of literature. The thought of the meeting of great wits, though it be but a *vidi tantum*, stimulates our fancy, gratifies our natural desire that good things should be shared, and adds something to our conception of the actors. We like to know that Shakespeare and Jonson, Jonson and Herrick, George Herbert and Falkland, met familiarly, apart from books, and liked and learnt from each other's talk. Another guest of a different kind was John Pym, if he is the 'Mr. Pim, a man whose ears are 'open,' who gave Wotton news of his Royal Mistress in 1629. Sir Edmund Bacon was often at Eton with his uncle; and no doubt courtiers would come down from Windsor to visit him, and travel from London to share his hospitality.

Here the record ends: but even if we had the names without the talk, it would be a Timon's banquet of empty dishes. We cannot be eavesdropping at the houses of the dead: it is something if they leave us their letters, never

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 567.

meant for us, to read. We only know that among the wits who conversed at his table, Wotton was one of the readiest and most fluent. His letters are those of a good talker : and the specimens of his conversation given by Walton, though we can see Walton's hand in them, give him this character.

Many biographical or anecdotal hints may be picked up in the letters from Eton, throwing light on the simple but dignified life which suited the ancient and 'cloistered' character of the place, and his office in it. He takes a generous pleasure in the offer made by Laud, 'very nobly,' of a 'Prebendaryship at Windsor, unexpected, undesired,'* to John Hales, 'our *Bibliotheca ambulans*.' He makes experiments in natural philosophy, with the help of his Venetian servant Giovanni. Since the pleasure of building was denied him by his want of means, and he did not care, like Browning's bishop, to design his own tomb, preferring the plain stone with its well-known inscription, he amuses himself with planning 'a poor small standish' as a present 'to Bishop Juxon. He writes his Panegyric, 'a small welcome,' to greet King Charles on his return from Scotland, being moved to do so 'I know not how, out of a little 'indignation' † at the surliness of the Scots Presbyterians. For indeed Sir Henry was always a staunch Royalist; as in 1628, when he wondered at the distempers in Parliament, so in 1639 when he writes of the 'new oaths' of the Covenanters, ‡ 'The whole business is very black. Never 'was there such a stamping and blending of rebellion 'and religion together.' He takes note of the events of the day: as, for instance, the landing of the King of Sweden in Germany with 40,000 men, but as a spectator, not an actor; he grants nominations to scholarships in courteous terms, or refuses them as courteously; he writes of College hospitality as kept up 'at a bountiful old rate,' with hogsheads of strong ale, haunches of venison, and collars of brawn. He grumbles at floods from the West and snow from the East, which prevent the boats from going under the bridges and keep 'Matthew Say, our 'boatman' (dressed, like his successor to-day, in the 'azure' livery of the College), from making his ordinary voyages twice a week to London, and so earning a shilling from the Provost by delivering a packet at the 'Green Dragon' in Bishopsgate Street, and another shilling on his return

* *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 369.

† *Ibid.* p. 358.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 580.

from the errand; complains of ‘splenetical vapours,’ and doses, bleeds, and diets himself as was the custom then, concocting strange prescriptions; such as ‘my preparation of ‘the Lignum Sanctum, with addition likewise of the root of ‘China, Inula Campana and a sprig of Tamarisque, all in the ‘decoction of barley-water and quickened with a little ‘sprinkling of a Limon, a rare receipt to corroborate the ‘Viscera and keep the stomach *in tono*.’

Here, then, we leave him, ‘a retired and cloistered man,’

‘freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;’

and if, as we hinted above, Walton’s picture of him is too much that of a philosopher and a saint (though he was both one and the other) and too little that of a man of the world, we may reflect that the man of the world made the philosopher, and that Wotton was probably happier in the use and knowledge of affairs, the plentiful friendships and the elegant and varied tastes which he brought to Eton with him, than if, like Hales, he had lived among books and inkpots and played a part in the angry controversies which in those days vexed the hearts and soured the blood of learned men. The atmosphere of Baronius and Casaubon, Scaliger and Scioppius, Milton and Salmasius, was little akin to the saintly and philosophical temper which charms us in a thousand happy touches in the letters of friendship which are preserved in the ‘Reliquiæ.’ Not among books only, but in converse with busy men of all countries, was learnt the lesson in which he summed up his experience of life:—

‘Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.’

ART. VI.—*The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett*: 1845–1846. With Portraits and Facsimiles. 2 vols. London: 1899.

WHAT should be put into print? What withheld? There you have the question which besets periodically almost every person concerned with literature. The problem presents itself in an infinite variety of ways; but it is plain that we are rapidly arriving at a sort of general *imprimatur*. Specious arguments for publicity are always forthcoming. Nearly every publisher maintains a stringent view of the duty towards historical truth incumbent upon those who hold documents which it will pay to print, and sets as all but paramount the claim of the public to know and judge men's lives in full possession of every possible fact. How many are there nowadays in that distinguished corporation who would emulate the heroism of Murray when he burnt the Byron papers? Some, we hope, but certainly not many. 'Est et fideli tuta silentio merces.' At present it is indiscretion that has its assured reward, whatever Horace may say. In the same stanza he adds, it will be remembered, a malediction by way of counterpoise; let us quote it, to help us over an ugly aspect of the subject:—

'Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcana, sub isdem
Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum
Solvat phaselon.'

It may have been a bad thing to blab out of doors the mystic rites of Ceres, but the damnation to be incurred thereby was slight compared with that deserved by the man or woman who prints letters written in the confidence of friendship, which the writer would have desired to be kept secret, and prints them for the sake of money. That is the person with whom one would not wish to share the shelter of any possible roof. There is no need to discuss here such an expedient for converting paper into cash.

But the motive for indiscreet publication, or for publication which at least to our rude fathers would have seemed indiscreet, is not often so simple, as it presents itself to any of the people concerned, whether poet, novelist, biographer, or simple depositary of papers. They are indiscreet, whether with their own secrets or those of others, from the loftiest motives; they plead the interests of art, the interests of truth, the interests of morality. And when one considers

what is published it is hard not to wonder what can possibly be withheld. As a witty woman said the other day in some discourse upon the possibilities of a cupboard, 'there is no skeleton in any cupboard nowadays; we all wear our skeletons on our sleeves.' Rousseau's 'Confessions' sink into a modest shade, and Rabelais is put to rebuke for prudery, beside the religious indecencies or indecent religiosities for which M. Huysmans is applauded, not by the public which purchased M. Zola's early works wholesale, but especially by the people who describe themselves as cultured. It is the over-educated who clamour for 'slices cut from life'—who desire the photographic record of morbid emotions—and whose taste finds a logical outcome in the last Parisian form of entertainment, kinetographic representations of the dissecting-room. If an artist chooses to gratify this desire for the *frisson*—the morbid thrill—by revealing the secret processes of his own mind—if he chooses to feel and make others feel the fascination of ugliness—that is his affair, but he should remember that the kinetograph can beat him at his business, and that he will never approach the attractions of a bull fight. Only, there is this to be said for the artist: in gratifying the morbid curiosity of the public to see what is properly hidden he may offend against human decency, but he does not betray confidence. He sins against reticence; he does not sin against discretion. And in one way the public, at least in this country, is stupid in its judgement of the artist. A man, the public says, experiences a sorrow; the greater the sorrow the less likely he is to talk about it. But the artist not only expresses his sorrow in public, but sells the expression of it; he cultivates his emotions for the benefit of his pocket. That is, in substance, what one hears said even by intelligent people about such a book, let us say, as Mr. Barrie's 'Margaret Ogilvie,' and it shows a total misapprehension of the conditions under which artists work. An artist writes, or paints, or composes, not in the first instance to get money; that is not why he becomes an artist; but having embarked on an art, and having to live by it, he may, and does, legitimately choose to do such things as will bring him in the means of livelihood—the more the better. He will deliberately put aside, as, for instance, Stevenson did, subjects which tempt him, because the finished result would be unsaleable. But now and then, under a definite stimulus, he will and must write the thoughts that are uppermost in him. Thackeray wrote

the 'Hoggarty Diamond' when he had just lost his child. Was his sorrow any the less real because he described it in a fictitious form and was paid so much a page? Suppose that, instead of being a novelist, Thackeray had been a poet, and had written a poem explicitly on his loss, ought he not to have published the poem? Behind all art there is life; yet when the art is greatest it does not appeal to us as the record of a single definite emotion. The life is not limited; the experience is for all to feel with. Just because the artist has in him the power to waken sympathy with his own emotions, not as his, but as those of a human being, he is moved to publish no less strongly than he is moved to write. He will not strip his heart bare to a friend in talk, any more than any other man, but he will to a world of people whose faces he does not know; to whom he is, and ought to be an impersonal voice. What withholds a man from throwing into print the record of his inmost feelings is not the thought of thousands of people who may read, it is the thought of a score or so, to whom this is not simply a human voice but the voice of their friend. As for the money that comes of it, the writer takes that as an accident; but of all the work of artists such work as this, which is the record of a definite and personal emotion, is done with the least thought of money.

It is just for this reason that we are particularly inclined to deprecate biographies of artists. Their writings that they publish are addressed to an impersonal audience by a man speaking from behind the veil; and the less the public associates the works with a definite personality the more likely are they to produce their proper effect. There is, of course, a laudable curiosity, which is almost gratitude, to know something about the men and women to whom we are indebted for pleasures, and more than pleasures—to know their faces and something of the story of their lives. But it is hard to see how, for instance, a biography of Thackeray would help us to any new profit or pleasure from 'Vanity Fair;' and a life of Turner might almost stand between us and the delight his pictures give. Coleridge has said somewhere—and the saying comes strangely from Coleridge—that the man is always more than his works; and that is, no doubt, true; yet enough is known of Coleridge to make us unduly underrate every one of his utterances. No human being can lose, perhaps, by knowing the truth; but public curiosity is apt to disinter fragments of it, and there is no such liar as an isolated fact. The biography of Coleridge

could only have been written by himself, and would be essentially a spiritual history; and, indeed, a spiritual history can hardly be written at all. Any biography of him that can be written is worse than indiscreet; it is misleading: it can only show you the squalid accidents that may encumber a great soul.

Yet biographies there must be, and if they are not written well they will be ill written; we may make up our minds to that; and the fact justifies a great deal that at first sight might seem an indiscretion. Any notable person will provide, if he be a prudent man, against posthumous terrors by such a bequest of his papers and literary remains as shall make it at least difficult for the irresponsible and uninvited person to mangle him. Yet even so he cannot protect himself. By naming a biographer, when it is decided that his life is to be written, he has done all in his power to make his wishes clear, but he must not suppose that they will be respected. The law protects his correspondence, but the facts of his life, his habits of dress and speech, are at the will of every chance acquaintance to make a little money or credit out of, and the mine is unsparingly worked. Stevenson's case is instructive. He left the charge of writing his biography to a friend, with the full disposal of his correspondence; but that has not hindered two young ladies within the past year from constructing volumes, and very silly volumes, out of their slight acquaintance with him in his youth and out of floating gossip. There is a ready market for every kind of personal chatter about distinguished people, even if it is simply silly, as in these two instances, and if it should be damaging, why, so much the readier. Consequently the biographer nowadays need never be tempted to suppress awkward facts in the story, or ridiculous or unloveable traits. If he does not face them, some one else will bring them out with such emphasis that a mole on the cheek becomes the chief feature in the face. Suppose the life of an eminent divine has to be written, and it appears that once or twice in his undergraduate days he got drunk. It may be thought, very reasonably, that the fact has not the smallest significance; that, if it is stated, it will certainly be misunderstood by stupid readers; and consequently that, by a literal accuracy of record, the truth of impression which should be the writer's aim will be destroyed. But, as a matter of prudence, it may be wise to state the fact and to set it in its proper value, disregarding the foolish; otherwise it may be so

stated as to deceive even the intelligent. All this, no doubt, makes for truth in the end, but the condition of public opinion and private honour which it indicates is not a thing to be proud of.

The biographer, then, is an artist who exercises his art under singular difficulties. He has to tell a story and paint a portrait, and he has also to be discreet; but he cannot even exercise his own faculty of discretion without considering the probable results of other people's indiscretion. As regards the statement of facts, we are all for frankness. Let him tell the worst and make the best of it. Let him aim at practising the art of biography as one must suppose it to be practised in heaven, where the recording angel will certainly not be a scribe set to register this or that step over this or that forbidden border, but a judge who will chronicle efforts as well as achievements, and set every part of the whole in its true relation. The biographer owes a duty to his art, and must aim at truth of portraiture, and, if he writes the life of a man of action, he owes truth also to history. If a biographer can prove that Wilberforce had a pecuniary interest in abolishing the slave trade, in Heaven's name let him do so; without that fact, if it were a fact, the portrait would be false and history would be incomplete. Only in some cases the problem is beyond human endeavour. How is any one to write the life of Turner so that it shall not convey a totally false impression? Where in that squalid record are you to find any trace of the secret joy that must inevitably have animated the man's whole life? In such a case one can only deplore the fact that public curiosity demands details of what one may call the accidental life of this great artist, and will be paid for its folly in disgust. But in every case the problem is desperately difficult, and in most the biographer is not an artist and probably knows it; he attempts by a laudable instinct to shrink from the unequal task and takes refuge behind documents. Here, he says, let the man speak for himself; here are his letters; here is the *vox ipsa*, though the tongue is cold; here, at least, you shall have the truth. And the more intimate the letters are the more avidity the world shows in reading them. Thus, out of a kind of natural despair at his own incompetence, the biographer is often led into the wildest indiscretion, which nearly always means the publication of letters only intended for one person to read; and so he is false to his true business, which is to show the man as he was to the world. You

may know your friend in the truest intimacy; you may have the fullest comprehension of his talent; you may understand all the motives of his actions; and yet you cannot remotely understand how he looks to his wife, if his wife is in love with him. If she is in love with him, she sees not the man but a kind of angel, or at least the man transfigured; and if he is in love with her, in his relations with her he either is or he tries to be transfigured—it may be for better or worse. Under certain conditions it is just as disloyal to print a man's love letters as it would be to paint him drunk. What have we to say to Napoleon's letters to Josephine? Is that the real Napoleon? It is Napoleon with his faculties suspended by an intoxication. Or, again, the letters of Keats to Fanny Brawne: what right had the world ever to see them? It is indecent to print them, just as it would be to catch a man in his cups and exhibit him; worse, for this passion was not of the man's own fault or seeking. An artist in biography with those letters before him might have contrived to indicate how the keen sensuous delight in beauty that made Keats what he was as a poet made also the sex passion a destroying flame in his nature. But to print them in full was inexcusable, and the woman who kept them for a curiosity and transmitted them to others showed sufficiently by that act how strangely this passion for beauty could hide from a poet the coarsest kind of ugliness. Yet, without printing love letters and so appealing to the ceaseless curiosity of the sex instinct, how is the biographer of an artist to make his book exciting? The activity of the brain, the mind's adventures, he cannot record; and the life may very well have been a happy though an uneventful one. Lord Tennyson, having this problem to face in writing the life of his father, set an excellent example. It is true the interest in Tennyson was so great that the book did not weary its readers; but when one thought it over there was no story told—no incisive portraiture of the man. Some day, no doubt, some one will write a 'real Lord Tennyson,' and, underlining all his eccentricities and lesser peculiarities, say that these were the man; but at least no one will be able to toss his heart into the market-place. The book stands there to commemorate the externals of a stately and distinguished existence; but the life of the artist is only written in his works. The greatest biographies, such as Boswell's or Lockhart's, are substantially as discreet as it is. Suppose Boswell could have printed Johnson's letters to his wife,

should we have known Johnson better? Let us be thankful that Boswell's discretion was spared the strain of withholding them from print, the more so because the mere fact of their absence proves conclusively that the completest picture of a personality may be given without lifting the veil that covers his secret tenderness.

Not that we could wish to cut off a biographer from what is often his best resource—a man's or woman's intimate correspondence. Just the charm of Swift's journal to Stella is that it was written for her only, and not for publication. Yet there was a third person involved there; Mrs. Dingley either saw or was presumed to see the letters. That, perhaps, is why one reads the thing without the least sense of indiscretion, and gladly recognises in the journal Swift's completest revelation of himself and his best justification. The same holds true of Thackeray's letters to Mrs. Brookfield, which are plainly the utterance of a man writing to the human being who was most to him in the world—whom he loved as a man can only love a woman—but which from the circumstances of the case have no touch of passion. A husband's letters to his wife, in all their intimacy and tenderness, may often be rightly used by a biographer. But love letters, as a general rule, have no business with print. 'God be thanked,' wrote Browning—

'God be thanked, the meanest of his creatures
Boasts two soul sides, one to face the world with,
One to show a woman when he loves her.'

The business of a biographer is to set before the world the outer soul side; with the other the world has no concern.

Yet if ever we could make an exception to this rule it would be for the love letters that passed between Browning and his wife. In many lives love plays a strong part, yet a subaltern one. Johnson's love for his 'Tetty was strong enough, so was Napoleon's for Josephine; but the real gist and tenour of the life lay elsewhere. You could leave these things out and still have the man. But with the Brownings it was otherwise. A person who should sit down to write the biography of Mr. and Mrs. Browning would have in effect nothing to record beyond the bare fact that they wrote certain poems, which the world can read and judge of, except just this. They acted one part which deserves to be memorable in the world's history; they were the hero and heroine of the most wonderful love story, if you consider it rightly, that the world knows of. Here were two people

who all their lives through in their poetry had been saying that the one thing in life which mattered, the one thing worth having, the one thing truly significant, was the love between man and woman which is inseparable from the sex instinct, but translates the most plainly animal fact in our lives into the most plainly spiritual. And, having said this in their verse, it was given them, after long delay, to prove it in their lives. If Browning had married just the obvious pretty, charming woman when he was young and she was young, there would have been nothing remarkable in the fact, even though he had cared for her as man never cared for woman. But here you had, what Elizabeth Barrett calls it, a miracle. Here you had on the one hand a man verging on middle age, who had glorified love in many poems, but who nevertheless by his own avowal, repeated again and again with the plainest sincerity in these letters, had never known by experience what this glorified passion meant; who had deliberately ceased to expect it; who had settled his mind into the full anticipation of living his life to himself; had so far given up thoughts of marriage as not to have cared to provide money; had, in short, decided that either his nature was one that could not respond to love, or would never find its counterpart. On the other hand you have a woman, not only past youth, but to all appearance past health and the hope of recovery—‘a blind poet,’ she calls herself in one of the early letters. ‘I have lived all my chief joys, and, indeed, nearly all emotions that go warily by that name and relate to myself personally, in poetry and in poetry alone.’ It was a life in darkness. ‘My face was so close against the tombstones that there seemed no room even for the tears.’ Between these people there began a correspondence in January 1845. She had expressed in one of her poems admiration of his; he wrote to her his admiration of hers; and an interchange of letters continued at intervals of a week or fortnight till May 20, when he went to see her for the first time. Two days later he wrote and told her that he loved her. What precisely he said we do not know, for she sent back the letter and he destroyed it. He had seen a shy, nervous, broken-down woman older than himself, and to all appearances condemned to a sofa for the rest of her existence, and he had offered her his life. The case was not new to her; other men, in their enthusiasm for the poetess, had asked to be allowed to come and see her, had asked leave to pay their addresses. She tells him this incidentally in one of the later letters; and she was

angry with herself because she could not put away his words easily, as she had done theirs. Love was a thing she had dreamed of all her life, but a dream that never hoped for its reality. 'I never thought that a man whom I could 'love would stoop to love me.' The story which the letters tell is how the friendship, allowed to continue as friendship, became on his side gradually a repeated avowal of love; how she at first put the question aside on the ground that she could not accept such a sacrifice as would be involved in tying him to her; how gradually he gained her admission that this consideration alone weighed with her, and gradually convinced her that she meant to him the one thing desirable in the world; how under this new influence health came back to her as if by magic; how he waited with infinite patience, never urging her, tolerant even of her father's insane caprice which regarded any desire for marriage in any of his children as the height of filial disobedience; and how, finally, this ended with their secret marriage. The rest of the story is told in the volumes of her letters; how this invalid, who needed to be carried up and down stairs, and shrank even from seeing ordinary visitors, was taken out of her prison and became a woman capable even of facing considerable fatigue and long journeys, living a vivid and high-spirited existence, and, after years, at last even a mother. The story of the courtship which led to this truly 'amazing 'marriage' is at least one about which we cannot possibly know too much. And it may be urged that though the publication of such letters goes far to establish a really regrettable precedent, yet with the squalid story of Byron's love affairs paraded in half-a-dozen volumes, with Shelley's scarcely less unhappy marriage-ventures become public property and elaborately discussed, with George Sand and De Musset each describing in rival novels the other's shortcomings in their *liaison*, it is all but imperative for the credit of humanity that this story should be told in the fullest way.

Upon the principle involved the Brownings themselves are eloquent witnesses. In so far as concerns the artist's reticence, no man expressed stronger views than Browning. Clearly, he held, there were things the public had no right to; a man must keep back something. In the very odd poetical criticism which makes the epilogue to his 'Pacchiarotto' volume he represents the public as expostulating with him for the roughness of his vintage. Why does he not borrow for it a bouquet and softness from

the cowslips that grow abundant at his feet? Why not love verses, love fancies, instead of crabbed thoughts? 'Friends,' he answers, 'beyond dispute:'

'I, too, have the cowslips, dewy and dear;
Punctual as Springtide forth peep they:
I leave them to make my meadow gay.'

And so, 'of cowslips, friends get none.' One has only to look at these letters to see just what he means by the cowslips that he keeps for himself, though, indeed, they flourish chiefly in her letters, not in his. His curious contorted mode of expression lends itself awkwardly to playfulness or tenderness; with her they spring naturally. But that is beside the point. What he meant was that this playfulness, this tenderness, belonged to the side of him which the public had no right to see. If they did not like his wine they might go elsewhere, but they should not have his cowslips. And in another odd poem—'House'—he puts the same thing in a different metaphor:

'Outside should suffice for evidence,
And whoso desires to penetrate
Deeper, must dive by the spirit-sense—
No optics like yours at any rate!

'Poity toity! A street to explore,
You have the exception. "*With this same key
Shakespeare unlocked his heart*" once more—
Did Shakespeare? If so, the less Shakespeare he.'

The case for the artist's duty of reticence cannot be put more strongly, though perhaps it might be made a trifle more explicit. And yet consider Browning's own record in this matter of reticence. It was he who wrote and published the epilogue to 'Men and Women' 'One Word More'—surely one of the most intimate poems ever written, yet no one blames him for neglecting his principle. What is more, in that very poem he tells the world plainly that he shares the world's desire to see what is most intimate the work that is either made or written 'once and only 'once, and for one only.' Rafael had his wine that he offered to the world, but he, too, had his cowslips:

'Rafael made a century of sonnets,
Made and wrote them in a certain volume
Dinted with the silver-pointed pencil
Else he only used to draw Madonna's.

You and I would rather read that volume
 (Taken to his beating bosom by it),
 Lean and list the bosom beats of Rafael,
 Would we not?—than wonder at Madonnas.'

And so also concerning Dante's angel that he drew for Beatrice—

'You and I would rather see that angel,
 Painted by the tenderness of Dante,
 Would we not?—than read a fresh Inferno.'

What is more, Browning actually recognised in the most personal way not only the world's desire, but the world's right, to see such things. The 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' can hardly be said to disguise under that title an account of how love came into the life of the woman who wrote them—the life which, she says in one of these letters, perhaps God made desolate and devastated that it might be a fallow field before love's coming. We are told how she slipped the bundle of papers into her husband's pocket and ran out of the room; and how, having read them, he soon decided that these were things that he had no right to keep to himself. So they were published, though in the frankness of their avowal they speak of caresses which in these letters she scarcely names.

It may be urged that all these things—Rafael's sonnets, Dante's picture, and the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese,'—were, however intimate, nevertheless thrown into the form of works of art, and therefore stood on a different footing from letters which must be, if they are of any worth as letters, avowedly written by a definite person to another definite person. And one finds the two lovers actually discussing this point. She forwards to him a letter of Miss Martineau describing Wordsworth; he comments upon it and on the fact that Miss Martineau had once recalled all her letters from her correspondents and burnt the whole:

'Here is the letter again, dearest—I suppose it gives me the same pleasure in reading as you, and Mr. K. as me, and anybody else as him; if all the correspondence which was claimed again and burnt, on some principle or other, some years ago, be at all of the nature of this sample the measure seems questionable. Burn anybody's *real* letters, well and good; they move and live—the thoughts, the feelings, and expressions even—in a self-imposed circle limiting the experience of two persons only—*there* is the standard and to that the appeal—how should a third person know? His presence breaks the line, so to speak, and lets in a whole tract of country on the originally enclosed spot. . . . So that the significance is lost at once, and the whole value of such letters—the cypher changed, the vowel points removed; but

how can that affect clever writing like this? What do you, to whom it is addressed, see in it more than the world that wants to see it and sha'n't have it?'

To all of this she replies, commenting, as he does, on Miss Martineau's unreason, but differing from him absolutely as to the burning of '*real* letters.'

'She does not object (as I have read under her hand) to her letters being shown about in MS., notwithstanding the anathema against printers of the same (which completes the extravagance of the unreason, I think), and people are more anxious to see them from their presumed nearness to annihilation. I, for my part, value letters (to talk literature) as the most vital part of biography, and for any rational human being to put his foot on the traditions of his kind in this particular class does seem to me as wonderful as possible. Who would put away one of those multitudinous volumes, even, which stereotype Voltaire's wrinkles of wit—even Voltaire? I can read book after book of such reading—or could. And if her principle were carried out there would be an end. Death would be deadlier from henceforth. Also it is a wrong, selfish principle, and unworthy of her whole life and profession, because we should all be ready to say that if the secrets of our daily lives and inner souls may instruct other surviving souls, let them be open to man hereafter even as they are to God now. Dust to dust and soul secrets to humanity—there are natural heirs to all these things. Not that I do not intimately understand the shrinking back from the idea of publicity on any terms—not that I would not destroy papers of mine which were sacred to me for personal reasons—but then I never would call this natural weakness, virtue; nor would I, as a teacher of the public, announce it, and attempt to justify it as an example to other minds and acts, I hope.'

One may fairly see in that passage a clue to the history of these letters. Browning destroyed before his death all other letters of every kind. While he lived he refused with vehemence to furnish any documents for a biographical study of Mrs. Browning which was in progress. But these letters were kept by him, numbered and ordered, in an inlaid box which they exactly fitted; they were spared from the general destruction; and, in short, the decision as to what should become of them was tacitly left to his son. From the views expressed in the passage just quoted, one may fairly infer that Mrs. Browning would have consented that they should be given to the world; and Browning, in a matter of this kind, would never have run counter to her authority. Her son says in his preface that the choice seemed to lie between burning them and publishing them; and if they were to be published at any time we can see

no reason against the present. We cannot regret Mr. Browning's decision. Had he chosen otherwise :

‘ Surely a precious thing, one worthy note,
Had thus been lost for ever from the earth.’

And, indeed, the choice that Mr. Browning had to make was more difficult than Sir Bedivere's.

At all events, there the letters are, and, to borrow a phrase from Mr. Ruskin, they make a ‘ record of various nobleness ‘ and tenderness ’ not to be surpassed. Certain things one deplores—for instance, the recurrence of Miss Barrett's rather undignified pet name. Elizabeths seem fated to misadventure in this kind, and at least she is not so unhappy as the other Elizabeth, Miss Siddal, Rossetti's model and wife, whom Ruskin called Ida, and Rossetti addressed as ‘ Gug-guns ’—one of the revelations which recent biography might well have spared us. It is difficult, too, if not impossible, to escape from a besetting sense of eavesdropping. There would have been nothing impious in retrenching and editing ; the record would have been perfect without publishing the letters *in puris naturalibus* ; and, to speak frankly, we think that discretion demanded the suppression of passages which are simply endearments. The beauty of the record would not have been lessened, and the reader would have been spared the sense of assisting at an indiscretion. As the famous pair stand, like Alceus and Sappho in the ode of Horace, one seems to see the illustrious dead flocking about them to hear their story, and

‘ Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbra dicere.’

Many things they say which (as Horace meant the words) are meet to be listened to in reverent silence ; but one must think also that the august shades are a good deal surprised to hear them utter in public many things which are in a very different meaning *sacro digna silentio*.

Having made our protest, we go on to profit by the revelation of two natures certainly not less loveable than they were gifted. Letter-writing was not one of the gifts bestowed upon Browning ; he embarrasses himself in long contorted sentences ; the humour, spontaneous enough, is never easy, and throughout one misses the sound of the voice. But if one does not hear the voice, there is the man plain enough. Take him as a poet : you see the man perfectly clear as to his own vocation, resolute to say what is in him, and sanguine for the future, perfectly recognising the distinction between

his own work and that of his lesser contemporaries, not in the least disturbed because Miss Mitford arrives at the remarkable conclusion that Hood is the greatest poet of the age, yet perfectly modest. Bad criticism does not fret him, and for the good he is honestly grateful, making no pretence of sublime indifference to praise. One of the very earliest of these letters is a reply to her inquiry as to his 'sensitiveness to criticism,' which deserves to be quoted for a very characteristic specimen of his wholly deplorable style and wholly admirable temper. He begins by saying :

'I write from a thorough conviction that it is the duty of me, and with the belief that after every drawback and shortcoming I do my best, all things considered—that is for *me*; and, so being, the not being listened to by one human creature would, I hope, in no wise affect me.'

Then, after a page of singularly obscure and whimsical metaphor about growing cabbages, he goes on :

'But it does so happen that I have met with much more than I could have expected in this matter of kindly and prompt recognition. I never wanted a real set of good hearty praisers—and no bad reviewers—I am quite content with my share. No—what I laughed at in my youth, and since, is a sad trick the real admirers have of admiring at the wrong place—enough to make an apostle swear. *That* does make me savage *never* the other kind of people; why, think now—take your own "Drama of Exile," and let *me* send it to the first twenty men and women that shall knock at your door to-day and after of whom the first five are the postman, the seller of cheap sealing-wax, Mr. Hawkins, jun., the butcher for orders, and the tax-gatherer—will you let me, by Cornelius Agrippa's assistance, force these five and these ⁴ fellows to read and report on this "Drama"—and when I have put these faithful reports into fair English, do you believe they would be better than, if as good as, the general run of periodical criticisms? Not they, I will venture to affirm. But then, once again, I get these people together and give them your book, and persuade them, moreover, that by praising it the postman will be helping its author to divide Long Acre into two beats, one of which she will take with half the salary and all the red collar,—that a sealing-wax vendor will see red wafers brought into vogue, and so on with the rest—and won't you just wish for your "Spectators" and "Observers," and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Hebdomadal "Mercuries" back again! You see the inference? I do sincerely esteem it a perfectly providential and miraculous thing that they are so well behaved in ordinary, these critics; and for Keats and Tennyson to "go softly all their days" for a gruff word or two is quite inexplicable to me, and always has been. Tennyson reads the

Qu. 'their.'

"Quarterly" and does as they bid him, with the most solemn face in the world—out goes this, in goes that, all is changed and ranged. Oh me !

This, be it remembered, was in 1845, when praise was in no way plenty. And of envy or of any kind of uncharitableness there is not a trace from end to end of these long volumes. Moreover, you find this sedulous artist, who had so shaped his life as to avoid the least need of compromising his art, now ready to alter the whole scheme of his existence, and take any means that may offer of a livelihood—to seek some employ under Government from his friends, to return to writing for the stage, even to attempt the novel—*Di meliora piis*—in order to get married. The position in which he was placed was almost incredible. Mr. Barrett had, by some twist of mind, which it is charitable to call insane, decided that any thought of marriage in any of his children was black disloyalty to himself. This daughter, the poetess, had lavished on him an almost fantastic tenderness; imaginative, high-strung, and made hysterical by her long seclusion, she could not bring herself to face the idea of awakening his displeasure, and she had created a visionary conception of his love for herself. About the same time as she learnt for the first time what a different kind of love might mean, her delusion was roughly shattered. In the autumn of 1845 the doctors declared that it was imperative for her to pass the winter abroad, and she consulted with Browning as to places of sojourn. But her father not only refused to hear of the project, but visited her with his heaviest displeasure for having been so rebellious as to entertain it. She remained, therefore, in London at the risk of her life. Browning thought of this what any sane man would think, and, as was natural, it appealed to more than his mere reason. He told her plainly what he thought of it—that it was tyranny; but he respected her respect for her father. He was willing to admit that the man might be other than his acts spoke him, and he was passionate in apologies for having perturbed her by speaking his mind. But, practically, he did a great deal more than acquiesce in the undignified concealment which her regard for a third person's caprice imposed upon him. He said, in effect, This is intolerable, but it shall be borne. Sooner than cause her a trouble which he had every reason to believe would be transient, he abjured his right to act on his own reason and conscience in persuading her to act for her own good. He was content to accept the

position of coming to see her once or twice a week as a mere visitor, with the further aggravation that his visits had to be arranged or postponed so as to avoid any encounter with other visitors, and for other intercourse he relied upon letters; and the only practical limit set to the duration of this arrangement was the possibility of maintaining it without rousing Mr. Barrett's suspicions. It was nobly characteristic of the man that he never accounted it a mark of regard to say, 'I cannot live without you;' to bid her throw herself upon love for his sake and hers; nor, in short, to use any of the other commonplaces which mask the ordinary desire for the particular gratification on which a man has set his heart. He simply made over to her the whole of his existence, all the faculties of his being, to be used, not according to his ideas of right or wrong, wisdom or unwisdom, but just at her pleasure, asking no better than to devote himself. It was a Quixotism, no doubt; every age has its Don Quixotes, and there are no characters it can less dispense with. It was no figure of speech to say that this love was the main business of his life. He kept her letters with the same method and order as other men keep their accounts; he counted the minutes he spent with her.

'Shall I tell you?' he writes, some six months after their first meeting, 'I never in my life kept a journal, or register of sights or fancies or feelings. In my last travel I put down on a slip of paper a few dates that I might remember in England: on such a day I was on Vesuvius, in Pompeii, at Shelley's grave; all that should be kept in memory is with me best left to the brain's own process. But I have, from the first, recorded the date and the duration of every visit to you; the number of minutes you have given me . . . and I put them together till they make . . . nearly two days now; four-and-twenty-hour-long days that I have been *by you*, and I enter the room determining to get up and go sooner. And I go away into the light street repenting that I went away so soon by I don't know how many minutes.'

The envelope of her letter fixing a day for his first coming is endorsed simply, 'Tuesday, May 20, 1845, 3-4½ P.M.,' and quite at the other end of the record is a letter endorsed, 'Saturday, September 12, 1846, ¼11-11½ A.M. (91).' The letter on which it is written is a hurried line, dated the previous Thursday, bidding him come on the Friday to arrange finally for the secret marriage, a step to which they had been forced by Mr. Barrett's sudden determination to remove his household for a time into the country. The endorsement is a record of the marriage, and the figure 91 shows that it was the ninety-first of their meetings, which

were always thus registered by him on the letters. There is something curiously eloquent in this bald, business-like arithmetic, which contrasts so oddly with the pathetic incompetence he displayed when it came to looking out trains for their secret departure a week later.

In short, this rather plain, thin, faded, hysterical woman was loved for herself as perhaps none of all the world's famous beauties has ever been. There never were any more letters to be printed after the last that is in this book, for in the ten years of their married life the Brownings were never a day apart. And the woman who inspired this noble devotion was worthy to inspire it, as we find her in these letters—a poet in every fibre of her, but adorably feminine, weak with more than a woman's weakness and strong with more than a woman's strength. It is, naturally, the artist that one sees first, writing to the artist, on subjects of their common art; the woman is only to be divined. Yet as one reads on, and sees the woman more and more, one never loses sight of the poetess. Here, for instance, is a really wonderful passage explaining her alarms in thunder, and dating them back to her childhood among the Malvern Hills:

We lived four miles from their roots, through all my childhood and early youth, in a Turkish house my father built himself, crowded with minarets and domes, and crowned with metal spires and crescents, to the provocation (as people used to observe) of every lightning of heaven. Once a storm of storms happened, and we all thought the house was struck, and a tree was so really, within two hundred yards of the windows, while I looked out - the bark rent from the top to the bottom . . . torn into long ribbons by the dreadful fiery hands, and dashed out into the air, over the heads of other trees, or left twisted in their branches, torn into shreds in a moment, as a flower might be by a child. Did you ever see a tree after it has been struck by lightning? The whole trunk of that tree was bare and peeled, and up that new whiteness of it ran the finger-mark of the lightning in a bright beautiful rose-colour (none of your roses brighter or more beautiful), the fever-sign of the certain death, though the branches themselves were for the most part untouched, and spread from the peeled trunk in full summer foliage, and birds singing in them; three hours afterwards, and in that same storm, two young women, belonging to a festive party, were killed on the Malvern Hills, each sealed to death in a moment with a sign on the chest which a common seal would cover, only the sign on them was not rose-coloured, as on our tree, but black as charred wood.'

And she has the easiest and most natural way of saying the finest things

'All the great work done in the world is done just by the people who know how to trifle. Do you not think so? When a man makes a principle of "never losing a moment," he is a lost man. Great men are eager to find an hour and never to avoid losing a moment.'

Here, too, is a delightful sketch of her childhood, beginning with the days when she used to 'make rhymes over her 'bread and milk,' and write 'of Virtue with a large "V," and "Oh Muse" with a harp, and things of that sort.' A little later came a French rhymed tragedy on Romulus, and then theology had its turn. Is not this oddly like the beginning of Miss Schreiner's 'Story of an African Farm'?

'As to the gods and goddesses, I believed in them all quite seriously, and reconciled them to Christianity, which I believed in too after a fashion, as some greater philosophers have done, and went out one day with my pinafore full of little sticks (and a match from the house-maid's cupboard) to sacrifice to the blue-eyed Minerva, who was my favourite goddess on the whole because she cared for Athens. As soon as I began to doubt about my goddesses, I fell into a vague sort of general scepticism . . . and though I went on saying the "Lord's Prayer" at nights and mornings, and the "Bless all my kind friends" afterwards, by the childish custom . . . yet I ended this liturgy with a supplication which I found in "King's Memoirs," and which took my fancy and met my general views exactly. . . . "O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul." Perhaps the theology of many thoughtful children is scarcely more orthodox than this; but indeed it is wonderful to myself sometimes how I came to escape, on the whole as well as I have done, considering the commonplaces of education in which I was set, with strength and opportunity for breaking the bonds all round into liberty and license. Papa used to say, "Don't read Gibbon's history; it's not a proper book. Don't read 'Tom Jones,' and none of the books on *this* side, mind!" So I was very obedient, and never touched the books on *that* side, and only read instead Tom Paine's "Age of Reason," and Voltaire's "Philosophical Dictionary," and Hume's "Essays," and Werther, and Rousseau, and Mary Wollstonecraft . . . books which I was never suspected of looking towards, and which were not "on *that* side," but which did as well.'

She had too, as so many women have, that keen sense of humour which does not bear upon conduct; she could be relied upon never to see the droll side of a thing at the wrong moment, either for herself or for another. Her humour never helped her, as it so often does with men, to a half-amused contemplation of her own spiritual sufferings, nor hindered her, as it so often does men, in a high aspiration. It was only there when the sun shone; then it laughed and sparkled like a stream in sunshine. Oddly enough, humour is far more evident in her letters than in his; and yet the whole of his work is informed with humour, while in hers

that element is lacking. The truth is that throughout the whole correspondence she has the easier part to shine in, if you look at it merely as a scene in a play. She can be and is perfectly natural and free in her utterance; with him one is always conscious of a little constraint. Here are two people professing for each other, with the deepest sincerity and the best reason, passionate devotion, gratitude, and worship. The man must inevitably feel that so far as he cares for the world's opinion the world is welcome to read his letters to her; they are what he says, and what he will stand by to the uttermost. He is paying to her what his sex has always held it its duty and honour to pay to hers; and for once, as he holds, the debt may be paid in its fulness. And she, as a woman, is receiving what all the traditions of her sex authorise her to aspire to, and envy her for attaining. But when it comes to a question of her letters to him, there lurks in his mind a dim sense that he is ridiculous; that any man who saw those letters would see at once the incongruity between her adoration and the object she adores; and the sense of this makes him abashed and halting in his speech. He cannot accept what comes to him without a protest, mute or spoken; and the result is just this stiffness in attitude. He is a little awkward in the presence of her protestations. Just once in a way he manages to become articulate; yet, as in the following letter, he confounds himself in a labyrinth of disavowals both before and after he manages to say straight out what is in his heart.

‘But I *must* answer you, and be forgiven, too, dearest. I was (to begin at the beginning) surely not *startled* . . . only properly aware of the deep blessing I have been enjoying this while, and not disposed to take its continuance as pure matter of course, and so treat with indifference the first shadow of a threatening intimation from without, the first hint of a possible abstraction from the quarter to which so many hopes and fears of mine have gone of late. In this case, knowing you, I was sure that if any imaginable form of displeasure could touch you without reaching me, I should not hear of it too soon; so I spoke, so *you* have spoken, and so now you “get excused”? No; wondered at with all my faculty of wonder for the strange exalting way you will persist to think of me; now, once for all, I *will* not pass for what I make no least pretence to. I quite understand the grace of your imaginary self-denial and fidelity to a given word, and noble constancy; but it all happens to be none of mine, none in the least. I love you because I *love* you; I see you “once a week” because I cannot see you all day long; I think of you all day long because I most certainly could not think of you once an hour less, if I tried, or went to Pisa, or “abroad” (in every sense)

in order to "be happy," . . . a kind of adventure which you seem to suppose you have in some way interfered with. Do, for this once, think, and never after, on the impossibility of your ever (you know I must talk your own language, so I shall say —) hindering any scheme of mine, stopping any supposable advancement of mine.'

But as for her, she has no such impediments of speech. She can make her pretty confession, looking back, of what she had felt when she would not admit that there was any feeling; she can express frankly her delight in being loved for the only reason 'which is no reason;' not because she is a poetess, nor because she is sympathetic, nor because he is chivalrous, but simply because he is he and she is she; she can speak her feminine avowals of the jealousy she could not repress of the 'other women' who might profit when she persisted in refusing what he offered; or she can be as naïve as this shows her, when she went home after the secret marriage.

'I did hate so to take off the ring! You will have to take the trouble of putting it on again, some day.'

That is simply the woman, saying what every woman in love would have felt in her place, but few would have put so simply. But there are passages and to spare where the utterance is not only that of the woman in love, but of the poet; here is a last quotation, one where she makes her boast of her one capacity—the power to love --and in a sense explains it: —

'Because I have the capacity, as I said -- and, besides, I owe more to you than others could, it seems to me—let me boast of it. To many you might be better than all things, while one of all things to me you are instead of all; to many a crowning happiness -- to me the happiness itself. From out of deep dark pits men see the stars more gloriously, and *de profundis amavi*.'

So they stand before us, these two famous lovers, for other things justly famous, but for none more likely to be forgotten than for this culmination of their lives; and we cannot wish this record of their love inaccessible. But we hold strongly that if a wise selection had been made, and the whole packed into the compass of one of these volumes, many repetitions which grow tedious might have been spared, many things not needful to the record, and better kept secret, might have been left in a fitting seclusion; yet the story might have been told in all its fulness, the natures amply displayed, and a bad precedent avoided.

ART. VII.—1. *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle, being a Series of Ninety-nine Drawings representing Scenes and Personages of Ancient History, Sacred and Profane, by Maso Finiguerra.* Reproduced from the originals in the British Museum by the Imperial Press, Berlin. With a Critical and Descriptive Text by SIDNEY COLVIN, M.A. London: 1898.

2. *Publications of the Chalcographical Society.* London, Paris, and Berlin: 1886 to 1895.

ONE of the most puzzling questions in connexion with the Italian art of the Quattrocento has always been that of the origin and the primitive developements of engraving on copper in Florence about the middle of the fifteenth century; and, indissolubly mixed up with the main point, that of the precise nature of its relation, both as regards subjects and technique, to the contemporary art of Germany. The question has been complicated by the fact that the elements for study are few and far between. The early Florentine prints, and the true nielli, from which one most important division of them may be said to have been evolved, are of the most extreme rarity, and so scattered and divided between the print-rooms of museums and the cabinets of fortunate amateurs that a critical examination of the engravings, drawings, and works of art, with the aid of which the puzzle might perhaps once for all be solved, has until quite recently been wellnigh impossible. The splendid work done of late years by the Chalcographical Society—a creation of the chief museums, the critics highest in authority, and the most representative amateurs in Europe—has now made matters easier for the student. To say nothing for the moment of what it has accomplished in other fields, it has reproduced in facsimile, and for the most part in the happiest fashion, the most representative specimens of Florentine engraving of the early period with which we are dealing, making its selection from the treasures of the British Museum, which is extraordinarily rich in these rarities; from those of the National Library of Paris, the Imperial Library and the Albertina of Vienna, the Print Rooms of Berlin, the museums of Hamburg and Gotha, and such exceptionally complete private cabinets as those of Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris. A further and a very important step in advance has been made with the

publication of this unique 'Florentine Picture-Chronicle,' the reproduction and the delicate analysis of which in all its bearings we owe to Professor Sidney Colvin, who has brought to bear upon his difficult yet most grateful task—so manifestly to him a labour of love—the most refined and unobtrusive scholarship, as well as the most enthusiastic and patient research in a very wide field. Amateurs and students also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bernard Quaritch for the enterprise with which he has undertaken the issue of a work which from its very perfection, and its consequent costliness, must appeal to the few rather than the many. The fine taste and the lavishness with which the book has been produced make of it a publication for which, in its special class, it would, unfortunately, be difficult to find many parallels in the English book market. Our pride in it is just a little dashed, however, when we note that it has been necessary to confide to the *Reichsdruckerei* (Imperial Press) of Berlin the reproduction of the ninety-nine drawings making up the Chronicle. And yet the author and the publisher have undoubtedly been well advised in securing, regardless of any 'local patriotism'—as the Germans call it—the best possible reproductions in a case where accuracy of value in the relation to each other of the black and white and kindred tints, as well as adequate rendering of detail, are of the very essence of the matter dealt with.

A word, in the first place, as to the history of the Picture-Chronicle, which has so important a bearing not only upon the history of engraving, but upon the manners and customs, the social history of Florence, in the great period of energy and growth to which they refer. Nothing, says Professor Colvin, was known of them until soon after 1840, at which time they were bought in Florence by a well-known German engraver, Professor E. Schaeffer, of Heidelberg. They passed through some intermediate vicissitudes before coming into the hands of M. Clément, a great Paris dealer, who, after some abortive negotiations with the British Museum, sold them to Mr. Ruskin for the sum of 1,000*l*. Fifteen years later Professor Colvin (then, as now, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings at the British Museum) saw them in Mr. Ruskin's possession at Brantwood, and, coveting them for the national collection, met with a characteristically generous response from the great critic, who ended by ceding them to the Trustees of the British Museum for the same price that he had himself given—that is to say, for about one-half of their value at the time, and

very likely not more than a quarter of their value now. But for a vague attribution to Benozzo Gozzoli, which even at the time does not appear to have been taken seriously, the Chronicle drawings remained anonymous down to the publication of the present work, in which Mr. Colvin, supporting his contention by a wealth of proof and suggestion, claims them for the famous Florentine goldsmith, Maso Finiguerra, to whom down to quite recent times the invention of engraving on metal, or rather of printing engravings from metal plates, has, on the authority of Vasari, been assigned. Though the most modern authorities, and chief among them the noted French collector, M. Dutuit, and the learned Italian annotator of Vasari, Signor Gaetano Milanesi, have dislodged Finiguerra from the proud place assigned to him on the authority of the Aretine biographer, and the priority of the German fifteenth-century engravers is now well established, it will be seen in the course of these remarks that Vasari's statement, though characteristically inaccurate, is not without a pretty solid substructure of fact.

Conclusive as to the priority of the German engravers are many indications, but above all the date of 1446 on the 'Renouvier' Passion in the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings at the Berlin Museum. Further and very strong evidence in favour of the Germans is furnished by the fact that their plates—conspicuously those of the Master E. S. of 1466—for all their *naïveté* and grotesqueness of conception, for all their Gothic angularity of design, show a marked superiority over the contemporary productions of the Italian goldsmith-engravers, both in the use of the burin and the printing off of the plates. Still, it is far from being proved that the Florentines, who at some time not long after 1450 began to print plates from the engraved copper, followed in the first place in the footsteps of their German predecessors and contemporaries. On the contrary, Mr. Colvin furnishes cogent evidence that the peculiar technical style shown in the well-defined group of engravings 'in the fine manner,' which, if not quite the first in point of date of the Florentine fifteenth-century engravings, are very nearly contemporary with them, is naturally and in quite normal fashion developed from the pre-eminently, though by no means exclusively, Italian art of the *niellatore*.*

* The most primitive of the early Florentine prints date, according to Dr. Christeller—a high authority on this special subject

This art of niello—that of engraving on silver, and further emphasising the design so obtained by filling in the engraved lines with a black enamel-like substance—was practised throughout the Middle Ages, but certainly attained to the highest perfection at Florence towards the middle of the fifteenth century. There is no reason to doubt Vasari's statement that Maso Finiguerra was the most renowned *niellatore* of his time; although we know that the beautiful, the much-discussed *pax* of the Museo Nazionale, with a 'Coronation of the Virgin' in the manner of Fra Filippo—of which sulphur casts are in the British Museum and the cabinet of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and a unique print was discovered by that sentimental amateur, L'Abbé Zuni, in the National Library of Paris—is not the *pax* mentioned by the Aretine as having been ordered of the famous goldsmith-engraver. In the first place, it does not agree in subject with the one on which used to be founded the claim of Finiguerra to be regarded as the father of engraving on copper; in the second, it reveals in style the influence of Fra Filippo Lippi, and therefore represents a phase of Florentine fifteenth-century art quite distinct from that to

--from about 1450. They are apparently isolated efforts, and are artistically of very varying value, among them being classed the remarkable 'Profile Portrait of a Lady' in the style of Paolo Uccello, now in the Berlin Museum, and—a late example of its class—a 'Resurrection,' printed together with a Paschal Table, recently acquired for the British Museum from the Angiolini collection (1461). Nearly contemporary with them, however, are the prints 'in the fine manner' with which we are for the moment chiefly concerned. Here both the technique and the quality of the design suggest the goldsmith. The shading and modelling are done by very fine, close cross-hatchings, as in the true niellos. An enumeration of the chief prints in this manner will be found in the text. The prints 'in the broad manner' are distinguished in the first place as belonging to a different school of Florentine art—that of Fra Filippo Lippi; in the second, because in them the shading and modelling are done with the aid of more or less parallel lines, without any cross-hatching. To this group belong, among other things, a series of copies of the 'Sibyls' 'in the fine manner,' done, however, with many alterations and simplifications; the six 'Triumphs,' after Petrarch; an 'Adoration of the Magi;' the 'Works of Mercy with the Preaching of Fra Marco;' 'The Deluge;' 'David and Goliath;' 'Solomon and the Queen of Sheba;' 'Moses with the Tables of the Law,' and 'The Brazen Serpent;' a superbly decorative 'St. George and the Dragon' on a large scale, with a curious representation of the Arch of Constantine in the background (?).

which those harsh yet heroic realists, Maso Finiguerra and his predominant partner, Antonio Pollajuolo, belonged. Now Mr. Colvin, in his rich comment on the Picture-Chronicle, connects the name of Finiguerra, on the one hand with the drawings which make it up, on the other with the remarkable series of engravings 'in the fine manner,' the technique of which is shown beyond reasonable doubt to have been evolved from that of the mediæval art of niello. Thus there would appear to exist solid grounds for maintaining his title to be looked upon, if not absolutely as the inventor of Florentine Quattrocento engraving, yet as the artist who did most to develop it from its primitive beginnings, and who presided over the *bottega*, or *atelier*, whence issued the first important productions of the graver, or burin, in Italy.

But we have strayed a little from the immediate neighbourhood of the Chronicle drawings which our commentator assigns to Finiguerra's own hand—with the legitimate excuse, nevertheless, that the subject of the primitive engravings is so indissolubly bound up with that of these drawings that to wander momentarily along the side-path leading to them is not in reality materially to digress.

The 'Chronicle' drawings, then, fill a folio sketch-book which contains fifty-one leaves, but originally contained more. They are not in the nature of studies or designs for more elaborate works, but stand absolutely by themselves—completely realised, so far as the goldsmith-draughtsman could realise them—although they may well have been intended to be translated, by the master himself, or his assistants, into a series of engravings such as were among the primitive Florentine prints 'in the fine manner:' the 'Planets,' the so-called 'Otto' prints, the 'Prophets' and 'Sibyls,' the illustrations to Bettini's 'Monte Santo di Dio' of 1477, and the illustrations (attributed to Botticelli) which were inserted in the Landini Dante of 1481. Let Mr. Colvin here himself describe them:—

'Quaint and energetic in invention, and extremely elaborate in execution and detail, they represent in the most characteristic way the rude and lusty infancy of the Renaissance spirit in Italian art, struggling to do justice on the one hand to its newly quickened perceptions of natural fact, and on the other to embody its eager and childish imaginations concerning the past. They vary considerably in artistic quality, betraying a master of the second rank, who sometimes rises near the level of the first, and sometimes sinks below his own. At first sight these differences suggest that the drawings may be by more

hands than one; but a little study discovers alike in the weak parts of the work and the strong the presence of a single well-marked style and personality. Further, two main points quickly become apparent about them: first, as to subject, that they form a regular series of illustrations to universal history before the birth of Christ, as that history was conceived in the imagination of the Middle Age and the early Renaissance; second, as to origin, that they are the work of some goldsmith (who might also be painter or sculptor, the three arts being often practised in the same workshop and by the same hand) belonging to the realistic school of Florence about the year 1460.'

We have before us, evidently, one of those World-Chronicles which were so popular both north and south of the Alps during the Middle Ages and the earlier Renaissance; but not the whole Chronicle, since the leaves depicting the Creation have been lost, while the end is reached long before the Christian era, the work being brought to a standstill either through the wearying of the designer of a wellnigh interminable task, or more probably because his labours were cut short by death. The fact should be borne in mind, therefore—as further supporting the author's main contention—that Finiguerra died prematurely in 1464, when he was not more than thirty-eight years old.

For present purposes it is not necessary to go back farther in connexion with the history and sequence of the World-Chronicles or universal histories than Paulus Orosius, the scholar and theologian of Tarragona, whose book of Histories ('*Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem*') was written under the patronage and encouragement of St. Augustine, and throughout the Middle Ages passed as an authoritative text-book. Another learned Spaniard, St. Isidore, writing some two hundred years later, introduced in his Chronicles the following division, which was adopted by nearly all the subsequent compilers whose aim was to give a popular *aperçu* of the world's history by, as it were, summing it up in its most striking and picturesque personages and events:—

1. From the Creation to the Deluge.
2. From the Deluge to Abraham.
3. From Abraham to David.
4. From David to the Babylonian Captivity.
5. From the Captivity to the Birth of Christ.
6. From the Birth of Christ onwards.

Our chronicler, so far as his figured history extends, works in accordance with the above main divisions. He uses the draughtsman's pen and brush, and only incidentally the

written word, to embody the chief figures not only of Biblical history, of classic legend and myth, but of the debateable land between the two. Thus with evident delight he wanders into the mist-enwrapped domain of Zoroaster, who, like Hermes Trismegistus himself—the mighty mage of Egypt, whose mythical personality represents an amalgamation or confusion of the Greek Hermes with the Egyptian god Thoth—suggests to our designer nothing so much as the magician juggling with unholy things, and manifestly deriving his powers from the sphere of evil rather than that of good. He even presents a less-known mage, Hostanes, with the strangest and most uncanny following of demons, and depicts with some dignity the beneficent deity of the Zoroastrian creed, Oromasdes, in the act of raising one dead from the tomb. For him even Apollo Medicus—‘Apolline Medico,’ as he calls him—is a necromancer with demons for his familiars, and a quack doctor of a grandiose and idealised type. The *Picture-Chronicle* of the British Museum, shorn of its initial pages, now commences, however, with a representation of Adam and Eve, much of the Masaccio conception and type, below which is ‘The Slaying of Abel.’ It runs on, not indeed regularly, but with occasional pauses in strange places—such as that realm of Oriental wisdom and Oriental magic of which just now a word has been said—through sacred and classic history and myth, the Biblical heroes and protagonists being juxtaposed with those of the pagan world, in accordance with the fancied coincidences of chronology then generally accepted by the chroniclers. Many of the most interesting pages are devoted to a fantastic representation of incidents and personages in the Trojan War, as derived, not from original sources, but, no doubt as the author points out from the ‘*Historia Trojana*’ of Guido delle Colonne, itself founded on the forged books current in the Middle Ages under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Then we get curious out-of-the-way subjects, such as ‘Julius Cæsar and the City of Florence,’ ‘Sardanapalus and his Women,’ ‘The Death of Æschylus,’ ‘Cyrus slaying the Son of Tomyris,’ and ‘The Vengeance of Tomyris.’ The *Chronicle* closes abruptly with a representation of the tragic fate of Milo, the athlete of Crotona, according to the legend which makes his own dogs, and not the hungry lion, devour him as he is held agonised and defenceless by the cleft tree.

The draughtsman of the *Picture-Chronicle*, whom we will with Mr. Colvin call Finiguerra, since we hold that he has

made out a very strong case in his favour, is not an artist of the first rank, if we compare him with Finiguerra's coadjutor and partner in the sculptor-goldsmith's *bottega*, Antonio Pollajuolo, whose superiority as a draughtsman Vasari himself has underlined. His is not an artistic personality which stands out at once, absolutely and unmistakably recognisable, like that of his great companion Pollajuolo, or his contemporary Pesellino—to say nothing of Fra Filippo Lippi, or the many-sided Verrocchio, or Botticelli, alike irresistible in passion and fantasy— or the great sculptors Ghiberti and Donatello, from whom this Finiguerra of the Chronicle has borrowed so much. Still, when under the guidance of our able commentator we have carefully perused his unique picture-book page by page, and compared it with the 'Planets,' the 'Otto' prints, the 'Prophets' and 'Sibyls,' and the other representative pages of the series, more than once already referred to, of early Florentine prints 'in the fine manner,' we find ourselves with a very definite notion of the man and his work, of his technical style, and his place among his fellow-artists of Florence at this particular moment. Mr. Colvin has given us a thousand convincing proofs that this is above all things a sculptor-goldsmith, a practical artificer—what the French call an *ornemaniste*—and not in the first place a painter or an architect. He is, moreover, in his treatment of the human figure, a realist of the severe and heroic type, closely related to, and much influenced by, Antonio Pollajuolo, yet in no sense slavishly adhering to his style. Finiguerra was, indeed, some two years older than his more celebrated companion, and this might well account for the fact that the Chronicle drawings are, with certain exceptions, markedly more archaic in type, stiffer in rendering, than any pictorial product of the Pollajuoli, than any drawing, engraving, or piece of sculpture by the elder brother, Antonio. This Finiguerra, as might have been expected from his artistic connexions in Florence, springs from those fierce militant naturalists, with Andrea del Castagno and Paolo Uccello at their head, who, rising superior to the dangers of meanness and triviality in realism, managed, while maintaining their position, to infuse a sovereign grandeur into their roughest and homeliest types. In this, indeed, they resembled their great pioneer and contemporary, Donatello, whose power of ennobling humanity through concentrated passion and intense sympathy, while leaving unsmoothed all its harsher as well as its more pathetically

human traits, is unique in art until we come, two hundred years later, to a master whose name may well sound strange in such a connexion—to the great Dutch realist and poet, Rembrandt.

If, on the one side, Finiguerra was connected with Antonio Pollajuolo, on the other he was closely in touch with Alessio Baldovinetti, who has always been classed with this same group of uncompromising Florentine realists, to whom he is no doubt allied through Castagno and Domenico Veneziano. An entry in Baldovinetti's notebook records that he had to receive payment on February 21, 1463, from Giuliano da Majano, for his work in colouring the heads of five figures designed by Tommaso Finiguerra for the scheme of *intarsiatura*—or mosaic-like decoration, executed with inlays of various woods—which was then being carried out, or about to be carried out, in the sacristy of the Duomo by Giuliano, no doubt as general superintendent and *entrepreneur*. The subjects of Finiguerra's cartoons are specified as being a group of S. Zenobio between two deacons and an 'Annunciation.' This *tarsia* decoration is still in its place in the Sagrestia Nuova of the Duomo, and is the only work of Finiguerra authenticated by documentary evidence. Though it is not markedly divergent in conception or design from the drawings of the Picture-Chronicle, or the group of prints 'in the fine manner' which Mr. Colvin has so successfully striven to associate with Finiguerra, it is, if anything, the weak link in his chain of proof. Neither in the architectural framing of the figures, so much larger, so much simpler and surer than the elaborate and impossible fantasies in architectural decoration of the sculptor-goldsmith and draughtsman, nor in the figures themselves, is there so close a stylistic relation, either to the Chronicle drawings or the prints, as to help the author in his argument. Still, the lost ground is recovered with the aid of two other figures in this same scheme of *intarsiatura*, 'The Prophet Amos' and 'The Prophet Isaiah,' which are shown to bear a singularly close resemblance to the 'Amos' and the 'Hosea' of one of the Chronicle pages.

A small but important point, which Mr. Colvin has apparently overlooked, strengthens the connexion of the Chronicle draughtsman with Baldovinetti, thereby giving additional force to the reasoned proof which identifies him with Baldovinetti's occasional coadjutor, Finiguerra. He points out, as a technical peculiarity, which he holds to be, with certain stated exceptions, unique in Florentine art,

the peculiar flame-like tuft of raised hair, which is very generally shown on the forehead of our chronicler's female figures. Now this tuft, with an appreciable difference of arrangement, is peculiarly characteristic of Baldovinetti's angels and youths, as a reference to his two 'Annunciations' in the Uffizi and at San Miniato respectively, and to his three predella-like little pictures, 'The Marriage at Cana,' 'The Baptism,' and 'The Transfiguration,' in the Accademia delle Belle Arti, will prove.* Nothing is more natural than that Finiguerra should have adopted this trick of style from his fellow-worker.

Is it not time, by the way, to revise somewhat the estimate of Baldovinetti's art, which ranks him absolutely with the group of the harsher Florentine realists, and midway between Castagno and Uccello on the one side and the Pollajnolo on the other? That in the selection for his sacred personages of rough, homely types, often taken straight from the people, there is evidence of a close affiliation to this group will not be denied. Yet his work has neither the grandeur nor quite the harshness in realism of his great contemporaries. An atmosphere of freshness and charm, of true *naïveté*, surrounds some of the paintings of his earlier time, now at last restored to him; among which we will only cite, in addition to the pictures just now mentioned, the beautiful 'Madonna and Child in a Landscape,' which, from the Duclat collection, has recently passed into the Louvre, where it still officially bears the name of Piero della Francesca.

As a composer and adapter of ornament we cannot rate the Finiguerra of the Chronicle quite as highly as Mr. Colvin would appear to do. Overwhelmingly rich and splendid this unquestionably is on occasion, and bold, if not wholly successful, in its combination of late Gothic with early Renaissance motives. Very evident is the enjoyment with which he borrows and turns to his own uses the garland-bearing *putti* of Jacopo della Quercia, of Donatello, and Desiderio da Settignano, and builds up on the basis of the noble and a trifle grim Florentine architecture of his contemporaries

* These little panel pictures belong to an *ensemble* of thirty-five similar pieces once adorning the doors of the presses which in the Church of the Annunziata contained the ecclesiastical plate; all the rest being by Fra Angelico, to whom, indeed, Baldovinetti's pictures are still at the Accademia officially attributed. Dr. Bode was, it is believed, the first—in his 1884 edition of Burckhardt's 'Cicerone'—to restore them to the latter master.

the unstable and ill-drawn, yet often fascinating, combinations of the sculptor-goldsmith. Yet in all this there is decidedly monotony, lack of suppleness, lack of variety, lack of the power to adapt and develope. Even remembering the triumphs of Desiderio, and, above all, of Benedetto da Majano, in the adaptation and further developement of classical ornamentation, it is permissible to hold the opinion that the Florentines never showed quite the inventiveness or the delightful fancy in this important side-branch of the earlier Renaissance art which so attracts us in the Venetian mode of ornament proper to the Lombardi and their school; or, in quite a different phase, in the Umbrians, as we see them presided over by Perugino in the Sala del Cambio of Perugia, and by Pinturicchio in the Appartamento Borgia, the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, and the Libreria of Siena.

Sometimes in his compositions and figures this Finiguerra quite falls below himself, and becomes not only technically inadequate, but inexpressibly jejune and tiresome. At other times—as in his splendid ‘Cain,’ in his ‘Dying Hercules,’ his ‘Zoroaster,’ his ‘Cyrus slaying the ‘Son of Tomyris,’ his ‘Theseus and the Amazon’—he rises much nearer to the level of Antonio Pollajuolo, with a touch now and again of human passion which does not belong to the former, with all his fierce virility. In the majority of the Chronicle drawings the perfect *naïveté* and conviction with which the draughtsman goes to work prevail. The beholder is made indefinitely to feel that here is no mere building-up of subjects piece by piece to fill the World-Chronicle with the typical illustrations which are *de rigueur*. With a pathetic ignorance and simplicity, yet not without grandeur and impressiveness, not without some sense of the greatness and the typical character of what he is called upon to present, the artist conceives these strange embodiments of the dim limitless past and its mightiest figures. Truly they exist from him thus—far distant, and wrapped in a certain weird dignity of their own, yet all the same actual and conceivable in their awkward and uncouth majesty. This effort, in gazing back over those early stages of the world’s history, sacred and profane, which necessarily appeared then, if more obscure and difficult to realise, yet of far more vital importance and interest than they do to the busy, the many-sided worker of to-day—this effort to conceive its figures and its scenes anew in itself generated something now and then of the romantic spirit which was so

uncommon during the Quattrocento in the city of the keen clear-sighted Florentines, who were so intensely human and so near to earth in their realism, their passion, even in their suavity and the quality of their imaginativeness. Botticelli is, of course, in certain phases of his art the obvious exception; but he is the exception that proves the rule. Of the Florentine Michelangelo, who created beings mightier than any mortal had before him dared to fashion, who saw visions vaster and farther removed from earth than had ever before him been embodied in plastic form, we do not affect here to speak.

A certain class of cassone pictures stand in a very close relation to the Finiguerra of the Picture-Chronicle and the prints 'in the fine manner.' These are among the most amusing and decorative, though otherwise not among the most admirable, products of Florentine Quattrocento art. With them the name of Dello Delli has hitherto been very generally associated, rather for the sake of convenience than because there is any serious indication or belief that this little-known artist is responsible for them. Now, in accordance with a fashion first set by the German *Kunstgelehrten* in such matters, they are in some quarters put down to an anonymous '*Maestro dei Cassoni*.' No student of the time or the school would dream of comparing them with the wonderful productions in this manner of Pesellino, of which typical examples are the cassone pictures, with scenes from the history of David, formerly in the Torrigiani Palace, and now in the collection of Lord Wantage, and the 'Triumph of Fame, Time, and Religion,' and 'Triumph of Love, Chastity, and Death'—that is, the six 'Triumphs' of Petrarch summed up in two scenes—by the same admirable pupil of Fra Filippo, which were in the exhibition of Italian art held at the New Gallery in 1893-94, under the sufficiently absurd name of Piero di Cosimo. Moreover, they have not the sprightliness or the strong individuality of that most delightful example of its class, the 'Festivities at a Ricasoli-Adinari Marriage,' which is in the Accademia of Florence.

The panels of the '*Maestro dei Cassoni*' type are above all interesting because in their naïve and rather stolid way they reflect more of the contemporary manners and the social history of Florence than does the work of more celebrated and more individual artists. Gazing upon these curious productions of what may be called commercial art—such as the superbly decorative panels with the 'Procession of the Queen of Sheba' and the 'Meeting of Solomon with the

'Queen of Sheba,' in the collection of the Earl of Crawford, and the very similar 'Dini Cassone' in the South Kensington Museum—one surmises at once that they may be based upon actual street pageants seen in the public ways of Florence. In a passage quoted *in extenso* by the author from the MS. Chronicle of Matteo Palmieri for 1454, a detailed description is given of one of these semi-religious and wholly spectacular processions as it passed through the streets of Florence to give on the Piazza della Signoria—or do' Signori—a *sacra rappresentazione* with the great typical scenes from the Old and New Testaments. This description at once recalls the cumbrous pomp, the quaintness, and the suggestion of elaborate make-believe in the functions which pass under our eyes in the cassone pictures. We see the Florentine dames splendid in robes of heavy brocade, and wearing the two-horned headdresses borrowed from France, or the long-peaked cap-like headgear of late Byzantine fashion—similar to that which the Sibyls assume in our Chronicle and in some of the early Florentine prints. We see the alert young Florentine fops gorgeously and most uncomfortably arrayed in that exotic French costume styled '*alla parigina*,' or, as we should a good many years ago have phrased it, '*à la mode de Paris*.' We see the sumptuous but obviously temporary and unstable structures which support the central figures in the Petrarchan Triumphs of Love, of Chastity, of Fame, of Time, of Death, of Religion, or the Queen of Sheba in her throne-like car, or again Joseph (in the Chronicle series) in all his magnificence as an Egyptian viceroy. The finest drawing in the Chronicle, the 'Rape of Helen,' or '*Elena rapita da Paris*,' shows under a splendid canopy, obviously inspired by Donatello's famous pulpit at Prato, a Paris and Helen moving forward unabashed and with a leisurely dignity, habited '*alla parigina*,' in the very height of the Gallo-Florentine mode of Finiguerra's time. A picture of which Mr. Colvin omits all mention, although it comes much nearer to his Finiguerra than does any other cassone picture, and must indeed—so remarkable are the points of resemblance—have issued from his *bottega*, is a '*Trionfo d' Amore*' in the Turin Gallery, where it is attributed to Dello Delli. The muscular figure of Amor is exactly like that in the print 'in the fine manner' styled 'The Chastisement of Cupid;' the chubby *putti* playing on wind instruments irresistibly recall those in one of the drawings of the series attributed at the Uffizi—and by Mr. Colvin himself—to Finiguerra. The costumes and the

landscape are of the same type; the modelling and treatment of the faces, mostly seen in profile, are very similar. In the foreground are two quaint groups, both of them conceptions quite in the style of the Picture-Chronicle, and both showing the enslavement of fond foolish man by woman, pitiless in her caprice. Here we have Phyllis bestriding in the usual humiliating way an Aristotle groping his way on all fours in his robes of wellnigh royal richness; there, a watchful Delilah by the side of a sleeping Samson.

It has not been possible in these remarks to follow out step by step the technical proofs adduced by the author, or to weigh the probabilities founded on agreement in points involving questions of style. To do this with any profit it would be necessary to bring before the reader the reproductions of the leaves making up the Picture-Chronicle, and to collate them, as the author has done, with the curious series of drawings at the Uffizi, which since the seventeenth century have borne the name of Maso Finiguerra, only quite recently exchanged for the vaguer designation, 'School of Pollajuolo.' These represent in the simple undress of the time youthful sinewy craftsmen, or students belonging to an artist's *bottega*,—models, too, both male and female, as some professional draughtsman has posed them, and naked boys blowing trumpets. At a first glance they seem so much more supple and living than the cumbrous figures of the Chronicle, too often lacking the breath of life, that one hesitates. Yet the style is clearly the same, and the author has adduced so many remarkable coincidences of motive between the drawings from life—what the German critics call *Aktstudien* and the designs of the Chronicle that further doubt is not reasonably possible. The same artist is clearly responsible for the one and the other set; but in transforming figure-studies and motives taken direct from nature into the mythical and fantastic personages of the Chronicle he too often sacrifices the essential qualities of life and stability.

One main section of the author's critical text is devoted to the study of the engravings 'in the fine manner,' and to the attempted proof that the Finiguerra of the Chronicle is responsible for them—directly in some cases, indirectly in others. That is to say, that of some prints in this peculiar group he is both the designer and the engraver; that of some others he is the originator, as the master of the *bottega* in which they are produced; that another group of pieces, which from external evidence are shown to have been executed after the death of Finiguerra in 1464, still bear unmistakably the traces of

his style and his inspiration. The reader desirous of following out the argument for himself must be referred to the *Chronicle*, and to the rare Florentine prints 'in the fine manner,' which can be most advantageously studied in the reproductions of the Chalcographical Society. Here again the close reasoning and the patient analysis of the author's comment leave little or no doubt that his contention is well-founded. The Finiguerra of the *Chronicle* is assuredly the originator of the prints 'in the fine manner.' He may well be himself, as Mr. Colvin contends, the designer and engraver of that quaint series 'The Planets,' of some among the 'Prophets' and 'Sibyls,' and of the two most important prints of this series, 'The Conversion of St. Paul,' of which the unique impression is at Hamburg, and 'The Judgement of Pilate,' a plate of exceptional dimensions, to be found only at Gotha and Chatsworth. In the last two, which are not wholly in agreement in point of style, Finiguerra—if it be he—is at his best; even though in concentrating and balancing his groups, in imparting to them dramatic movement, he has lost something of the savour, of the not unattractive harshness and the heroic realism of the *Chronicle* pictures. With regard to the 'Prophets' and the 'Sibyls' in the first version, executed 'in the fine manner,' the case is somewhat different. Some of these—no doubt the earlier ones—bear strong marks of Finiguerra's own authorship. But the fact that others of the series are adapted from works of the German Meister E. S. of 1466, while one prophet, the 'Daniel,' is taken from Martin Schöngauer, goes to prove that these sets as a whole cannot have been completed until after his death in 1464.

Though the prints 'in the fine manner' do not, save in one instance,* reveal the invention of a master-designer, they are of infinite interest, as illustrating the manners and customs, the daily life and movement, of Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century. The 'Planets' and the so-called 'Otto' prints are almost as rich in suggestions of this kind as the French illuminated missals of the same century—such as, to name only the masterpieces

* This is the 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' in which the agitation and the onward-sweeping movement of Botticelli are unmistakable. Here the manner, or mannerism, of the engraving, with its suggestion of the professional *ornemaniste*, has somewhat chilled the passion of the design. The illustrations inserted in the Landini Dante of 1481 are relatively of poor design and poor quality, even though they, too, are very generally attributed to Botticelli.

of their class, the several 'Livres d'Heures de Jean, duc de Berry,' and the still more famous 'Livre d'Heures de Maître Etienne Chevalier,' by Jehan Fouquet. Take, for instance, the 'Mercurius' of the 'Planets' series, which Mr. Colvin analyses with so much penetration and charm. It gives in its strange mixture of the actual and the fantastic a delightful picture of Florentine art-industry and Florentine social intercourse at this moment of the century. We actually see the open *bottega* of the sculptor-goldsmith, with the master or an assistant at work with the graver on a copper plate, while another member of the establishment hews away at a marble bust, a second and more ornate work of the kind, characteristically Florentine in design, being displayed in the foreground, complete on its elaborate pedestal. On the second story a lunner, aided by his apprentice, is engaged in frescoing with a decoration of looped garlands the wall of a house. In curious contrast with the wholly fantastic little band of Oriental sages who occupy the middle distance—one of them holding aloft an armillary sphere—is the little group in the foreground, showing with an almost Northern realism a high-bred youth, fashionably dressed in the prevailing mode, carousing with a jolly innkeeper—and again that other one which presents with such *intimité* two scholars deep in their books, while a clockmaker in the background adjusts the weights of a clock.

How comes it, it may well be asked, that the products of the Florentine sculptor-goldsmith—whether he be Finiguerra, A. Pollajuolo, Verrocchio, Botticelli, or Domenico Ghirlandajo—are so few, and relatively so little significant, that upon them there cannot be safely based any very definite notions of what such goldsmithery and jewellery were at this moment, which was really that of their finest style, perhaps even of their most legitimate technical development? The most important extant example of the Italian sculptor-goldsmith's art in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is, undoubtedly, the famous Reliquary of Gran, in Hungary, originally made for the art-loving King Matthias Corvinus, and after his death presented by his son, in 1494, to Archbishop Thomas Bakan. This wonderful piece is executed in silver-gilt profusely adorned with gems and pearls, and heightened with enamels. Its upper part, showing a Christ bound to the column, and, crowning the whole, a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John, is of German, or, it may be, Burgundian origin. The base or *soubassement*, rendered to a certain extent homo-

geneous by the same profuse adornment of gems and pearls, consists of a magnificent vase-like support, round which are grouped sphinxes upholding shields with armorial bearings. This unrivalled example of purely Italian work appeared to M. Emile Molinier of the Louvre to be Milanese in style, and attributable to the school of the great goldsmith Caradosso. M. Eugène Müntz, with a finer sense of style, has recognised in the Reliquary of Gran, or rather in its pedestal, a design altogether in the Florentine mode. Now, although this masterpiece of the artist and the skilled craftsman was, in all probability, executed some fifteen or twenty years after the death of Finiguerra, it may very fairly be said to belong to his school, and to exhibit in a somewhat modified and chastened form the main peculiarities of his design. A comparison of the Reliquary with the ornamental borders 'in the fine manner' adapted to the frontispiece of Mr. Colvin's book, and with the 'Triumph of Joseph' in the Chronicle, is most instructive on this particular point. Not less so would be its juxtaposition with another very characteristic print of the same peculiar technique, an 'Allegorical Subject with a Female beheading a Captive,' which is not among those reproduced in the present volume with the Chronicle drawings. This last, with its strange sphinx-like monsters and its curious ornamental structure, enframing and dominating the figures, looks for all the world like some *capolavoro* of a Florentine worker in precious metals.

It may not be amiss to sum up very shortly what it is that has been accomplished in this important contribution to the study of early Italian art. It is well known to all who are even remotely interested in the matter that Vasari credited the *nicellatore* and goldsmith Maso Finiguerra with the invention about the year 1460 of the art of making prints from engraved metal plates, but that connoisseurs and critics of authority now agree in depriving him of his pre-eminence in this respect, and in acknowledging the priority, as well as the superiority in mere technical accomplishment, of the German and Netherlandish fifteenth-century engravers. Vasari, moreover, sets up as Finiguerra's immediate successor a certain Baccio Baldini, who is supposed to translate with the graver not his own designs—for, though an accomplished executant, he is not much of a draughtsman—but those of Botticelli. Bartsch, accepting this last-named Florentine engraver, of whose existence there is, apart from Vasari's assertion, absolutely no proof, assigns

to him the two quite distinct and in some respects quite opposite groups of engravings 'in the fine manner' and 'in the broad manner' respectively. Although doubts have long since been cast upon the existence of Baccio Baldini as an individual, the classification of the early Florentine prints under his name, used as a generic designation, has very generally been retained up to the present time for the sake of convenience. What may be described as the Baccio Baldini myth, having done duty so far, may surely now be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things--at any rate, so far as concerns the prints 'in the fine manner,' of which the 'Planets,' the 'Prophets' and 'Sibyls,' the 'Monte di Dio' prints, the 'House of Pilate,' and the 'Conversion of St. Paul,' are the most notable examples.

That of these some are actually from the hand of the draughtsman and sculptor-goldsmith who is responsible for the series of drawings constituting the Picture-Chronicle, while the others are inspired by or adapted from him, Mr. Colvin has conclusively shown. That this draughtsman--an artistic personality of the second order, and yet with all his drawbacks a designer who combines vigorous and uncompromising realism with a genuine sense of decoration on the one hand, but also with a certain loftiness of view and a certain naïve imaginativeness on the other--that this draughtsman is Maso Finiguerra the author has given us many very excellent reasons for believing with him.

The personality of this much-talked-of, yet hitherto entirely misunderstood, artist is thus made more comprehensible, and he is seen, not, indeed, to stand insecurely on an apex in the Temple of Fame which contains his great Florentine contemporaries, but to deserve a subordinate yet still a very honourable place not too far from the monumental niches properly reserved for them. The crown which Vasari had placed on his brow had long since been wrenched from it; he was to the connoisseur and student of to-day neither the inventor of engraving on copper, nor the author of the beautiful *pax*, 'The Coronation of the Virgin,' which had erroneously been supposed to have an intimate connexion with the first step in the invention wrongly ascribed to him. Now, at any rate, if his glory is of a lower order, it is more solidly established. He appears, if not absolutely as the inventor, yet as the pioneer; he is seen to have been the most important influence, the most prominent figure among the early Florentine engravers, whose efflorescence after the first primitive developments of their art was to be of so short a duration.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Bulletin du Comité de Madagascar*. Paris : 1895-9.
2. *Annuaire de Madagascar et Dépendances*. Tananarive : 1899.
3. *Notes, Reconnaissances et Explorations*. Tananarive : 1897-9.
4. *Correspondence with the French Government relating to Madagascar, Africa No. 8*. Parliamentary Paper. London : 1897.
5. *Further Correspondence with the French Government respecting Madagascar, France No. 1*. London : 1899.
6. *Chez les Hova. (Au Pays Rouge.)* Par JEAN CAROL. Paris : 1898.
7. *Un Parisien à Madagascar : Aventures et Impressions de Voyage*. Par ETIENNE GROSCLAUDE. Paris : 1898.

THE progress of affairs in Madagascar since its occupation by the French had wellnigh ceased to occupy much attention in this country when the publication of the Blue Book* at the beginning of the present year aroused our dormant interest in that unfortunate island. The settlement of the untoward Fashoda incident afforded an opportunity of bringing to a speedy solution other outstanding differences between France and England; and as the explanations requested some time previously respecting our trading rights in the newly founded French colony still remained unanswered, our Government apparently felt themselves justified in repeating their request for a reply, and in pressing for the acknowledgement of our legitimate claims in Madagascar. Under these circumstances, it may be convenient to recall to mind the course of events which have happened in the great African island subsequent to the destruction of the Hova dominion by the capture of Tananarive during the last four years, and to note the effect of the changes and modifications in the government of Madagascar, first as a protectorate under a colonial administrator, and latterly as

* The Madagascar Blue Book was issued on January 6, and shortly afterwards, on the 21st, another parliamentary paper relating to the French claims on the shore of Newfoundland was published, apparently with some intention (as expressed by Mr. Chamberlain) of indicating a possible set-off of the Madagascar claims as a balance to those in Newfoundland.

a colony under a military dictator; from which may be obtained a suggestive study of the steps taken to bring about this momentous evolution.

It will be remembered how, in 1895, during M. Ribot's administration, General Duchesne, having constructed a cart road from the coast to Andriba—a colossal piece of engineering which took some months' arduous labour to carry out at a cost of several thousands of lives—formed at this terminal point, in a desolate mountainous region, a supply dépôt and subsidiary base from which he led his light column of four thousand combatants, all told, much hampered by the necessary convoy of supplies, against the city of the Ilovas. It will also be recollected how, by a flank movement past the sacred city of Ambohimanga, he outgeneralled the Hova commanders and occupied the heights on the further side of Tananarive; how he placed his guns so as to command the Queen's palace, over whose turrets the signal of surrender floated as soon as two or three melinite shells had been exploded within the Royal precincts; and how thereupon General Metzinger's Algerians marched in to take possession, while the remaining troops were distributed so as to overawe effectively the town and its environs.

General Duchesne experienced no difficulty in obtaining Ranavalona's signature to a treaty * acknowledging her submission to the French protectorate over the island, with all its consequences, while he generously declined to present to her another belated convention which imposed more submissive terms, but adhered to a protectorate only.

Indeed, M. Hanotaux has fully explained what an ideal protectorate should be :

‘Qu'est-ce qu'un protectorat? Le protectorat n'est, à vrai dire, qu'une restriction, une limitation, une modération que, dans son intérêt, la puissance victorieuse s'impose à elle-même au moment de sa victoire, dans la mesure où il lui convient, alors qu'elle pourrait, en vertu du droit de la guerre, aller jusqu'au bout de sa conquête. N'en déplaise à nos juristes de cabinet, le protectorat ne se définit pas, parce qu'il n'y a pas de tribunal pour juger les conflits qui pourraient

* The draft of this treaty had been handed to General Duchesne on March 29 by M. Hanotaux; but, between the commencement and the end of the expedition, public opinion had altered in France, and a telegram was sent to Andriba modifying the form of the treaty into that of a unilateral act, which was to be signed by the queen alone as a species of capitulation, but it arrived after the treaty had been signed.

s'élever entre la nation protectrice et la nation protégée sur la portée des termes de l'arrangement ; et que, d'autre part, la force de la puissance protégée étant brisée et anéantie par une occupation permanente et un désarmement complet, tout recours à la guerre, sanction suprême des différends internationaux, est, par la même, rendu impossible.'¹

The ministers who had drafted the treaty of Tananarive, and the modification of it which had not been utilised, above all things wished to establish the future organisation of Madagascar on the basis of the protectorate, and to maintain the queen and her native government intact with all the machinery of the Hova administration in working order. Unfortunately, the very complete collapse of the Hova organisation was brought about by the mere act of the conquest of the capital and seat of government.

The revictualling of the metropolis and a general disarmament of the populations were the most important measures to be first carried out by the conquerors, and, while the first was a slow and expensive operation, the second was with difficulty and but imperfectly enforced. The convoys to the capital from Andriba were attacked, and were only brought in by strong escorts ; and, indeed, after General Metzinger's brigade had retired—much too soon, as it proved—all connexion with Mojanga was cut off, nor was it satisfactorily re-established until a whole year had elapsed. Henceforth communication could be preserved only with Tamatave—a route of nearly two hundred miles in length, of which more than half the distance lay over a track impassable for beasts of burden and along a path where all supplies had to be carried on men's shoulders.

General Duchesne was accompanied by a civilian political adviser, M. Ranchot, at whose recommendation the Queen's prime minister, the astute Rainilaiarivony, was deposed, interned, and removed to Algeria (where he died) ; while a nonentity, Rainitzimbazafy, was put in his place. Undoubtedly this was an error of no inconsiderable magnitude which was dearly paid for, as M. Lebon, Minister of the Colonies, confessed to Parliament.

The organisation of the police system in Imerina under Rainilaiarivony had been well adapted to a population of Malay origin, and was in good working order. In each village there were communal councils, which were responsible for the security of property and person within their boun-

¹ *Vide* Bulletin du Comité de Madagascar, 1896, p. 92.

daries. Suspected individuals were denounced, tried, and (if convicted) deported or executed without delay, although an appeal could be made to the metropolis; and the ready, if rough, sort of justice had good results. At the same time, each village on the frontier was prepared to defend itself against the periodical incursions of the outer barbarous tribes and *sahavalos*, and for this purpose a certain number of arms was furnished by the minister. This system of defence was altogether destroyed by the order for universal disarmament issued by General Duchesne a few days after the capture of Tananarive. For all the reliable, well-disposed, and law-abiding citizens and villagers delivered up their arms, while the more dissolute and dangerous characters retained theirs and robbed those that were stored for delivery, for all authority had been taken away from the communal councils.

The most steadfast of the Hova leaders, Rainandrianampandry, had held the lines of Farafatra for a fortnight after the fall of the capital; and he only submitted to the French when news was brought of the queen's capitulation, on hearing of which troops were disbanded and sent to their homes before they could be deprived of their arms. Many of these, fearing to approach Tananarive, fled to distant stations, where other Hova garrisons still preserved some cohesion, requisitioning their supplies by the way. Large numbers, also, of the provincial tribes and clans, who in obedience to the summons of their sovereign had crowded to the defence of her throne, now disappeared in all directions, carrying with them the arms and ammunition which had been served out too indiscriminately on the approach of the enemy. Several of these bands, joining for mutual protection, beyond the reach of French bayonets, became encouraged by the sight of their own numbers, and, confident in the possession of ammunition and in their own popularly elected leaders, they took regular possession of certain districts where the foreign invaders had never yet penetrated.

From time immemorial the lives of foreigners had generally been respected by the Malagasy; but now that Duchesne's invasion had been successful, all such restraint was thrown off; moreover, the scattered bands of robbers who had hung about the skirts of Metzinger's retiring column could not fail to note the weakening effect of the climate on the French soldiers, and how rapidly the numbers in their ranks were reduced by fever and fatigue without any fighting.

No sooner had Metzinger, with his sadly diminished column, reached the coast, after effecting the evacuation of all the posts on the line to Mojanga, than a sudden uprising of the Zanakantitra tribe occurred in the neighbourhood of Arivonimamo, where the family of an English missionary (Mr. Johnston) was cruelly murdered, together with the Ilova governor and his officers, who attempted to quell the émeute.

This sanguinary outbreak, wholly unexpected by the French staff, was repressed, yet not without considerable trouble and after three weeks' fighting; while these Zanakantitra even charged up to the bayonets of the Algerian troops sent against them—the first time that any Malagasy had dared to face European soldiers in the field—and it was now remarked that a revival of heathen customs and a renewed trust in the national idols formed material features in this new movement. Other fanatic disturbances accompanied by loss of life took place later on in distant parts of the provinces—notably among the Voriminos on the east coast—and shortly afterwards several of the villages between Tamatave and Tananarive were burnt by roaming bands of brigands, so that it became necessary to post troops at all the resting stations between the capital and the port.

Meantime M. Ribot's Government had fallen,* and M. Berthelot, M. Hanotaux's successor, addressed the Chamber of Deputies on the Madagascar question, reversing the former policy of a protectorate:†

‘Messieurs, l'expédition de Madagascar est glorieusement achevée l'île de Madagascar est aujourd'hui une possession française. L'expédition a amené des sacrifices douloureux supérieurs à toutes prévisions, et qui nous ont donné le droit d'exiger des compensations étendues et des garanties définitives. Le Gouvernement doit faire connaître aux Chambres et au pays les décisions que cette situation a paru lui rendre nécessaires. . . . *Nous respecterons les engagements que nous avons contractés vis-à-vis de certaines puissances étrangères . . .* Quant aux obligations que les Ilovas eux-mêmes ont pu contracter au dehors, sans avoir à les garantir pour notre propre compte, nous saurons observer avec une entière loyauté les règles que le droit international détermine au cas où la souveraineté d'un territoire est, par la fait des armes, remise en des mains nouvelles. Mais nous sommes résolus à exercer notamment, *au point de vue économique*, tous les droits qui résultent pour nous de l'occupation définitive de Madagascar.’

Shortly afterwards the Cabinet of M. Bourgeois decided

October 29, 1895.

† November 25, 1895.

to remove the direction of affairs in Madagascar from the Foreign Office and place it under the Minister for the Colonies, M. Guieysse.*

By a decree of the same date the powers of the new Resident-General were defined, but unfortunately the military commander was made independent of civilian control, being amenable only to the Minister of War, thus causing a duality of responsibilities and an inevitable disunion between the civil and military authorities at the very moment when union was all-important in the face of impending troubles.

M. Laroche, the new Resident-General, formerly a naval officer, and more recently Préfet of the Haute-Garonne, reached Tananarive on January 18, 1896, when he at once assumed the administrative powers conferred on him by Government; whilst General Duchesne, handing over military charge of all troops to his second in command, General Voyron, took leave of the queen and her 'protected' island, and hastened back to France to reap the rewards due to the successful termination of his expedition. The task confided to him had been a difficult one, and he had accomplished it most faithfully; but the responsibilities he bequeathed to his successor were none the less onerous.

The principal fault of M. Laroche appears to have been that he did not at first wholly appreciate the gravity of the situation which he thus found himself called upon to face; but it must be remembered that he relied on the optimistic despatches transmitted home by his predecessor.

First of all, however, it was the business of the new president to obtain from Ranavalona a fresh declaration, to which the Hova queen raised no difficulties; for, in fact, she would have signed whatever document was placed before her.

As M. Berthelot subsequently informed the Chamber, this new deed signed by Ranavalona was unilateral, whereas the former had been bilateral. He distinctly stated that this deed did not signify annexation; that the exterior sovereignty was reserved to France, who would henceforth take charge of the relations between Madagascar and foreign Powers, but that the interior sovereignty was reserved to the queen, who would retain her title and honours. The relations thus established between the new Resident-General and the queen seemed at first perfectly amicable, so that

* *Journal Officiel*, December 11, 1895.

M. Laroche was able to report to Paris, 'La cour donne l'exemple d'une soumission absolue à nos volontés. Toute indication de nous est obéie comme un ordre. Nous sommes même embarrassés parfois de cette excessive obéissance.' But, in truth, this excessive docility exhibited towards the French officials at the Court of Tananarive did not prevent most alarming symptoms of insurrection from showing themselves on all sides, both within and without the confines of Imerina; nor did it seem as if the Hova courtiers were altogether ignorant of the designs and movements of the leaders who were promoting the incendiary disturbances which, rapidly spreading, threatened an insurrectional conflagration over the entire island. 'Une émeute? Non, Sire, c'est une révolution.' Tananarive was certainly in the hands of the French, but the conquest of Madagascar was only about to be commenced by General Voyron.

The first administrative measure of M. Laroche was to raise the state of siege in which he found Tananarive, and to instal the forty-eight officials whom he had brought with him in their respective seats. On the coast, where the ships of Admiral Bienaimé's squadron could control the neighbourhood of the ports, it was possible to establish the residents and their staffs; but in the interior, except at Fianarantsoa, the chief town in Betsileo province, it was nowhere safe for foreigners to show themselves. The schools and churches were everywhere destroyed, and it was highly evident that this popular animosity was not directed at the French and the Roman Catholics more than at the Protestant and English missionary establishments. M. Lebon pointed out to the Chamber that for every Roman Catholic church burnt or knocked down, at least two Protestant chapels were demolished.

Regular military operations were now carried out by General Voyron, who for this purpose organised flying columns, intended to sweep the country from end to end. The first of these, consisting of 600 men, under Colonel Combes—an officer well skilled in African warfare—was sent to the north frontiers of Imerina, where an Antsihanaka chief—Rakotavao—was holding the country about Lake Alaotra.

These rebels were easily dispersed, and a French resident, M. Pénel, installed at the chief town of the district, Ambatondrazaka; but the wild region outside this garrison remained in a disturbed state. Another column under General Oudry marched south into the Betsileo country to

establish order; but, although the French troops easily scattered the rebels whenever they could catch them, the armed tribesmen overran the country in all directions where no organised column could follow; and whilst pillage, rapine, and murder marked the raids of these 'Fahavalos' (brigands), the punitive columns served only to complete the devastation by burning the villages wherever the 'Fahavalos' had made any resistance. Several Frenchmen lost their lives within a short distance from the capital, and even the personal friends of the new Resident-General did not escape. So dangerous was the state of the country that M. Laroche wrote to France advising no settlers to come out to Madagascar until the safety of the foreigners could be assured. At the request of the Resident-General, who was most anxious to accomplish the pacification of the island without bloodshed, the queen published a decree in April offering a general amnesty to all insurgents who should return to their villages by May 15, after which date the houses and properties of all recusants would be sequestered. Moreover, all the headmen of the villages in Imerina were required to report themselves at Tananarive to give an account of their communes. Efforts were also made to seize the more prominent idol-keepers who had preached rebellion and instigated their followers to burn the churches; but the inhabitants of Imerina mistrusted all the promises held out to them, and the situation became seriously aggravated.

At the end of May an organised attack was made by Rainibetsimisaraka's bands on the Norwegian Mission establishment at Antsirabé, where a gallant defence was successfully maintained by a detachment of Malagasy tirailleurs under three French sergeants. The Hova lieutenant-governor of the district and his militia loyally assisted in the defence until the assailants were driven off by the arrival of a strong reinforcement under the French Resident. Murders in other parts of Imerina became even more frequent; the telegraph wires between Tananarive and Tamatave were cut; large bodies of *fahavalos* were reported in the woods of Analamazaotra and Angavo, and the escorts of convoys from the east coast to the capital could seldom pass without exchanging shots with the brigands. The focus of fahavalism in Imerina was in the division known as Voromahery, where the famous brigand Rainibetsimisaraka reigned supreme. At last it became apparent to the Resident that encouragement was being given to the insurgents by some of the Court retainers,

and, reluctantly, he gave orders for the apprehension of various Hova notables, including several of the great landed proprietors, while a state of siege was proclaimed in the disturbed districts.

The *prise de possession* of Madagascar by M. Berthelot naturally caused some embarrassment to M. Hanotaux on his return to the direction of Foreign Affairs,* after his brief absence. In fact, the situation created by his predecessor was an anomalous one, which has been described as a *régime hâtard*, involving 'prise de possession au point de vue 'extérieur et protectorat au point de vue intérieur.' It was resolved, therefore, to alter the conditions of the island's administration for the third time since France had assumed its protectorate, and straightway to annex the country by proclaiming it a French colony on August 6, 1896. In consequence of this annexation French products imported into the island were allowed to enter free instead of being liable to the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty to which they had hitherto been subjected in common with other foreign importations.

To carry out this new policy, which M. Lebon, the Minister for the Colonies, explained at length to the Senate on November 3, the Government decided to recall M. Laroche, and to send out General Gallieni armed with full administrative powers, civil and military, to quell the insurrection and impose submission on the various tribes.

In his letter of instructions the General was told :

'Le gouvernement vous donne toute liberté pour rechercher et pour punir les auteurs des troubles qui se sont succédés presque sans interruption depuis que nous occupons Tananarive; il approuve à l'avance la politique ferme que vous ne manquerez pas de suivre à l'égard de certains personnages de la cour d'Iimyrne, dont les agissements contre notre influence ont d'ailleurs été signalés à diverses reprises au résident général. . . .'

The last official act of M. Laroche was the issue of a decree abolishing slavery in the new French colony from the date of September 26, 1896.

The first proceeding of General Gallieni on taking up office as Resident-General and Commander-in-Chief, was to suppress immediately all the copies of the 'Journal Officiel' containing the above decree, and to send out a circular to

* The Bourgeois Ministry fell April 29, 1896, when M. Méline became President of Council and M. André Lebon succeeded M. Guicysse as Minister of the Colonies.

all the native governors, stating that the slaves were to remain with their masters. Three months later Gallieni published an 'arrêté,' regulating the labour of the emancipated natives, intended to replace the former laws and customs of slavery. That the conditions of life among the Hovas were not improved by this draconian edict is evident from M. Jean Carol's observations.

'Aujourd'hui nous détenons, ou à peu près, tous les travaux, et nous régignons sur le pays; toutes les ressources de l'indigène sont à notre merci: il le sait, s'y résigne en principe et ne demande qu'à nous prêter ses bras. Il était donc inutile, autant qu'injuste, de l'y contraindre par une loi qui lui fait sentir bien cruellement notre joug—je veux parler de l'abominable loi du "Livret." Autrefois, grâce à l'institution tutélaire de l'esclavage, les pauvres, les déshérités de tout âge avaient leur existence assurée sous le toit d'un maître paternel, moyennant la légère redevance d'un travail qui leur prenait le douzième de leur temps. Aujourd'hui, depuis le régime militaire, tout Malgache, quelle que soit son origine ou sa condition, qu'il soit riche ou qu'il soit pauvre, est *obligé* de travailler à partir de l'âge de seize ans jusqu'à soixante. Au troisième jour de chômage il est considéré comme vagabond et passible de six mois d'emprisonnement. Il y a plus: tout ouvrier, employé ou domestique, doit passer avec le vazaha employeur au engagement écrit—engagement unilatéral que le vazaha peut rompre quand il lui plaît, mais qui lie l'indigène jusqu'à la dernière heure du laps de temps convenu, sous des sanctions légales très rigoureuses. On comprend aisément à quels abus peut donner lieu cette mesure de la part d'employeurs souvent avides et peu scrupuleux. Les vaillants colons que nous avons là-bas ont applaudi de toute la générosité de leur cœur! A cela vient s'ajouter l'obligation des cinquante jours de corvée annuels. Le mouvement de dépopulation des villes déjà signalé, la fuite dans la brousse, pourraient bien être, en partie, la conséquence de ce système d'exécration et universelle réquisition.'

When, on September 28, 1896, General Gallieni assumed the despotic authority with which he had been invested, the island of Madagascar and its dependencies were divided up into sixteen administrative 'circonscriptions,' each fully equipped with its Resident and local staff of civil functionaries. The General at once took the following decisive steps to establish his autocratic system: viz. the proclamation of a state of siege in Imerina and Betsileo; the creation of *cerèles militaires* (organised after the type of those in force at Tonkin) in the north of Imerina, under military chiefs; the creation of a military government in Tananarive and its environs; the organisation of a militia and the enrolment of additional native forces as auxiliaries to those already forming a portion of the corps of occupation; the reorganisation

of the commissariat transport services and the lines of communication to the coast; and, finally, the extermination of American, British, and other foreign commerce, in order to foster French trade.

The provinces of the coast and those to the south alone remained under their civil *régime*, being placed under the direction of the Colonial Secretary at Tamatave, whilst Gallieni retained himself the immediate personal command over the military territories and the direction of the Government at Tananarive.

Now, M. Guieysse, the Minister for the Colonies, had particularly enjoined M. Laroche to be most careful in exercising the utmost tact towards the susceptibilities of the numerous independent populations, but to manage them by means of the already existing Hova machinery for their government; for every Hova seat of government in the distant provinces was at once a centre of civilisation and trade as well as a home of missionary enterprise. Gallieni's policy—*la politique des races*, as he styled it—on the other hand, was to destroy entirely the Hova prestige, to restore the autonomy of the different tribes by replacing the Hova governors by native chiefs, nominally elected by the tribes, but in fact puppets subject only to the military commandant of the district.

The first application of his system was the constitution of the Betsileo country as a province independent of the Hovas, and elsewhere beyond the frontiers of Imerina the Hova hegemony disappeared as the governors were disgraced and recalled to Tananarive.

Meantime the pacification of the country, which, it is ever to be remembered, has a superficies considerably larger than France, had also to be accomplished, and in all military operations of that nature Gallieni was thoroughly in his element. The repression of native risings by fire and sword was work to which he had been accustomed, and the steps he took to fulfil his mission in this respect were admirable from a military point of view, but ruthless and inexorable. For this purpose he divided the country already held by Voyron's troops, which had now been augmented by a battalion of the Foreign Legion, into *territoires militaires*, whilst these were again subdivided into *cercles* and *secteurs*, which were pushed outwards. Thus the *secteurs*, as they spread, became fresh *cercles*, which, united in groups, became *territoires*.

In December 1896 the rebels, constantly and everywhere

beaten on the field by the French troops, were no longer to be found in Imerina, except in some of the remote wooded mountains of the Angavo range, and the opening up of the north-west route to Mojanga was taken in hand, whilst before the end of the year the number of submissions was very great and daily increasing.

General Gallieni was a man of action, and he entered Tananarive with the intention of striking terror into the souls of the Hova aristocracy. Already had General Voyron replaced the Queen's flag on the great palace of Manjakaniadana by the tricolor; and now Ranavalona was required to pay a visit submissively to the French commander, who, on this occasion, treated her with studied rudeness and discourtesy. This was but the prelude of a series of progressive humiliations. In spite of the promise made to preserve her title and honours the heretofore sovereign of all Madagascar was to be treated only as the chieftainess of the Hovas *la politique des races*. The next step was the arrest of her uncle, Prince Ratsimamanga, and of Rainandrianampandry, the Minister of the Interior, on the charge of their complicity with the rebels. It was decided to have them tried by court-martial without delay and shot.

In the following month another slight was prepared for the Queen of the Hovas. On November 23 the national feast of Fandroana was celebrated at the Palace, and it was thus reported on in the columns of 'Le Temps': -

'La dernière "Fête du Bain" fut l'occasion du plus sanglant affront que nous puissions faire à la Reine et à son peuple. Au milieu de cette cérémonie purement malgache, qui se passait dans une salle du palais, les rires, les moqueries, la tenue indécente de certains colons furent en quelque sorte approuvés par la présence du chef d'État-Major, lequel—au mépris de toutes les convenances—s'était arrogé la première place et la direction des rites dans une assemblée où il n'aurait eu le droit de figurer que comme invité. Ce jour-là sans la moindre apparence de raison, sans ombre de respect pour la femme qui était dans la reine, nous bafouâmes publiquement la plus ancienne et la plus chère des traditions malgaches. Ranavalo abrégée les cérémonies; rentrée dans ses appartements, elle fondit en larmes.'

Ten days after sustaining this public insult the unfortunate queen was confined as a prisoner, within the palace where Radama II. had been strangled about the time of her birth, and denied all communication with her court. A note inserted in the 'Journal Officiel' simply stated that all applications for an audience with her Majesty were to be sub-

mitted to the chief of the staff. General Gallieni's friend and confidant, himself, gives us the reasons for what followed. M. Grosclaude tells us :

‘Un pareil état de choses ne pouvait se prolonger. Tant va la Ranavalo qu'à la fin elle se casse. Pourquoi donc les Français conservaient-ils cette reine ennemi, puisqu'ils étaient les maîtres? Mais c'était bien simple, parce que l'Angleterre avait dit: "Ne touchez pas à la reine." Telle était l'opinion que les agents des missions répandaient parmi les Malgaches; il est vrai que naguère les mêmes gens avaient dit aux mêmes Malgaches: "Vos ministres ne seront pas exécutés, parce que l'Angleterre ne le veut pas." Les Malgaches l'avaient cru, comme ils ont cru longtemps que la reine demeurerait la souveraine maîtresse de leurs destinées. Ils avaient été trompés sur la volonté de l'Angleterre et sur ses moyens d'action; on le leur fera bien voir, et il est incontestable que la déposition de Ranavalo sera le dernier coup porté au prestige britannique.’

Such was Gallieni's pretext for summarily deposing the already humiliated and imprisoned queen on his own authority and without consulting or informing the Minister for the Colonies.

On the night of February 27, 1897, Commandant Gérard, accompanied by Rasanjy—the treacherous secretary who had betrayed the Prime Minister—communicated to the Queen the decree of her deposition, and warned her to prepare to leave the palace at midnight. The unfortunate princess believed her last hour had come. She had been informed that twenty-four of her principal adherents had been apprehended and were about to be shot, and she fell on her knees at the feet of the inexorable commandant imploring mercy. As soon as she divined that no mercy would be shown to her she at once regained her equanimity, and in full expectation that she was to be taken out of the city to her execution, that death was inevitable, she was quite resigned. She requested that her sister and niece might accompany her, but she was conveyed all the way from the capital to Tamatave in a filanzana quite alone, by a sub-lieutenant and a detachment of marines, placed on board of a man-of-war, and deported to St. Denis. Thence the ex-queen has been brought, quite recently, to Algiers, where she resides in the villa at Mustapha where her husband, the great minister Rainilairivony, died two years ago. *Absit omen!*

Having succeeded so far in making his military dispositions, and in destroying the Hova hegemony by the

removal of their queen and governors, a last step in this direction was taken by the military dictator to complete his *politique des races*. As a proof of their thoroughly submissive attitude, it was arranged through the instrumentality of the obsequious Rasanjy, now governor of Imerina, that a delegation of Hova nobles should approach Governor-General Gallieni, expressing their deep obligations to him, and begging, as a further proof of his favour, that he would permit—1st, that the national *fête* of Fandroana might, in future, be replaced by that of the fourteenth of July; 2nd, that the royal ancestors sleeping in the sepulchre of Ambohimanga might be transferred to Tananarive and placed under the safeguard of the French army. These favours were graciously accorded, and on March 14, 1897—a fortnight after the abolition of royalty in Imerina—the exhumation of the royal ancestors and their translation to the courtyard of the Great Palace of Tananarive was duly carried out.

Yet, after all, affairs, especially those connected with French trade, did not seem to prosper, and it became apparent to Gallieni that strong measures should be taken to drive away foreign, i.e. American and British goods, from the Malagasy markets, which were at this time stocked with them in preference to French wares. Thus, in August 1897, a French dealer, writing from Tananarive, states:

‘Les toiles sont exclusivement de provenance anglaise ou américaine. Les indiennes viennent, en presque totalité, d’Angleterre; quelques-unes seulement sont d’origine française. Les flanelles sont anglaises et françaises. Les petits lainages de fantaisie sont français; il en est de même des soieries de fabrication lyonnaise peu demandées en ce moment, elles sont employées surtout pour garnitures de robes de bal; pour la ville les lainages ont la préférence. Je sais le Gouverneur général tout disposé à user de l’autorité morale dont il dispose pour favoriser, surtout chez les Hovas et les Betsileos, la vente des vêtements d’origine française.’

The moral authority brought to bear on the Malagasy may be appreciated by the perusal of an extract from a circular addressed by Gallieni to the governor of Imerina, on his return from a visit of inspection to Anosy Manjaka, where the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had assembled in his honour:

‘Quelques fonctionnaires indigènes se sont, en outre, présentés à moi avec des vêtements et des costumes d’origine étrangère. Je considère qu’en agissant ainsi, ils ont manqué de déférence vis-à-vis du représentant de la France à Madagascar. Nos officiers et fonctionnaires

français ne portent que des costumes d'origine française. Les fonctionnaires indigènes doivent faire de même et leurs vêtements doivent tous être faits avec des étoffes et des fournitures françaises.'

Some months later another circular was published in the 'Journal Officiel,' April 23, 1898, giving instructions to the native authorities to use all their influence in favour of the extension of French trade and industry, and, with this object, to impress upon the natives the use of French manufactured goods only, as a mark of patriotism and an act of duty—in fact, an obligation. It was added, certainly, that the sale of foreign goods would be tolerated; but the whole tenour of the circular amounted to an injunction to discourage all foreign commerce and industries. The end was attained, for action was taken by the authorities to prevent the native traders dealing with any but French merchants. All this was duly reported by our Consul to the Foreign Office, and we shall presently refer to the notice taken of these hindrances to our legitimate trade.

The commercial situation was now serious owing to various causes. Previous to the French invasion, the whole of the trade in the interior had been in the hands of the Hovas, who despatched their slaves down to the coast, principally to Tamatave and the eastern ports, with oxen, and received back in exchange foreign merchandise, which was sold at the markets in and near Tananarive, whence it became readily distributed by native agency throughout the island. The wealth of the Hovas consisted in their slaves and cattle. Hence the sudden emancipation of all the slaves, in April 1897, at once reduced to poverty the hitherto substantial native merchants of Imerina, and thus put an end to all commercial prosperity in Madagascar. For, deprived of their slaves, the Hova traders could no longer send them down to Tamatave, nor could they afford to pay the heavy charges of transporting merchandise on the shoulders of the Bezanozano carriers up from the coast; moreover, in many districts the whilom slaves, now their own masters, could no longer be induced to work, so that the large herds of cattle, deprived of their herdsmen, wandered away, and became an easy prey to the 'fahavalos.'

All classes of the European traders at the ports, including both those who possessed corresponding agents at the capital and those who had none, thus found themselves altogether cut off from the consumers and the retail markets of the interior. It became necessary for them to send up their goods to Tananarive; and as the French officials were now

occupied in revictualling their garrison, by requisitioning the native porters, the charges for transportation of packages on men's shoulders, over a mountainous track to a distance of well-nigh two hundred miles, attained a fabulous price, entailing a heavy outlay of capital, which otherwise might have been profitably employed. All this had already caused a sufficient perturbation in trade, when, almost directly afterwards, another despatch from the Colonial Minister announced the forthcoming application of the general tariff of the French Customs.

It was at first supposed, and hoped by the French merchants, that this tariff would be of immediate application; but soon it became known that, in consequence of the remonstrances made to the Government by foreign Powers, this tariff would not be imposed until six months had elapsed, and advantage was taken of this delay by the principal firms to receive phenomenal quantities of British and American cotton goods into their warehouses at Tamatave, between April and August. And, next, another disturbing element, which could hardly have been foreseen, came into existence; for by September the so-called fahavalism having been well-nigh suppressed, the former rebel bands, now broken and dispersed, filtered back little by little to their abandoned villages. There were, it was estimated, at least 80,000 of these half-starved wretches, ragged and penniless, who thus returned to their homes in provinces wholly devastated by two years of war and rebellion, pillage and brigandage, deprived of all resources, whom it was necessary to feed. Indeed, as, during this reign of terror, no planting or culture of rice had been possible, a widespread famine soon reigned in this once fertile and flourishing region, where rice used to be plentiful and even exported; moreover, an annual tax on every hectare of rice had been imposed. By this unexpected famine the foreign trade was immediately extinguished; for those Hovas who yet possessed any dollars at once converted them into provision and cattle; whilst the poorer natives of the interior everywhere employed all their available silver in the purchase of a miserable pittance of food, barely sufficient to support life.

Under such conditions it was manifestly impossible to sell any other merchandise than rice, and the formidable stocks which had been accumulating in the warehouses remained unsold; while, as it became necessary to pay for these goods the European houses which had consigned them, forced sales, effected to realise coin, altogether upset the usual

course of trade prices ; and, in every description of wares, the simultaneous losses on all sides occasioned an unprecedented commercial crisis.

Too late did the Colonial Government, on military views intent, perceive the errors they had committed ; first, in the immediate and too sudden emancipation of the slaves, recommended by M. Laroche as the natural sequence of the declaration that Madagascar was a French possession ; again in the sudden and all-embracing imposition of taxes, such as those on cattle and rice, in order to create a budget ; whilst the enormous differential duty in favour of French manufactures simply diminished the receipts at the custom-houses. The coasting *chasse-marées* employed by the large firms to supply their branch trading-stations were ordered to cease running except under the French flag ; and as a heavy fee was demanded for this change of nationality, which was only permissible to those trading for French houses, the coasting-traders, hitherto in the hands of English firms, had to cease plying, and the Germans were reported to be sending theirs away, rather than comply with this law.

In addition to all these misfortunes which fell so heavily on the merchants of Tamatave, in November 1898, the bubonic plague made its appearance among the natives of that port, having, as it was said, been brought by rats from the rice ships from Bombay. Thus, to this importation of rice, brought about by the French occupation, may be attributed indirectly the importation of the dire plague which had never hitherto been known to attack the island. Fortunately, a despotic system is well calculated to meet emergencies of such a description, and a system of cordons, strict sanitary precautions, and active measures taken without delay, have hitherto kept the dread disease from spreading into the interior or reaching the capital.

We must now revert to military matters, which, in fact, furnish by far the most interesting material for descriptive narrative, abounding as they do in incidents of a romantic and exciting nature. The penetration by force of a hostile and unexplored country within the tropics must always be accompanied by much that appeals to our love of adventures ; but we must confine ourselves strictly to the merest outline of the general features of this series of little campaigns, which, however small in themselves, contributed to cause a loss of life and limb, especially among officers and the non-commissioned ranks, far in excess of that which was

attributable to wounds received in action during the whole of Duchesne's campaign.

It was not until the end of 1897—more than two years after the taking of Tananarive—that the French could consider themselves absolute masters of the interior plateau, comprising the provinces of Imerina, Betsileo, and Antsi-anaka. It became, therefore, at this time necessary to push the chain of outposts beyond the frontiers of these metropolitan provinces, and to begin the subjugation of some of the semi-independent tribes which inhabit the bordering lands outside the highland territories cultivated and, till lately, safe under the civilising rule of the Hovas, now supplanted by French *fonctionnaires*. M. Grosclaude, whose entertaining book conveys a vivid idea of whatever came within his ken, was commissioned by his friend Gallieni to accompany Lieutenant Bocheron on an expedition to the west, where a post was formed at Ankavandra, in the Sakalava country, which was garrisoned by a company of *tirailleurs* in April. The valley of the Mahajilo was next occupied, in July, by a similar detachment at Miandrivazo. To complete this scheme of operations, Morondava, Maintirano, and Mahabo, well-known ports on the west coast, were occupied by garrisons sent by sea from Mojanga. A well-selected group of strategical points were thus seized and placed in a state of defence before the Sakalava tribes could combine to make head against a common enemy, thus planted in their midst. The combination of the generally disunited Sakalavas, however, was only a matter of time, and the signal of the general rising of these western tribes was given by the sudden attack on a convoy proceeding from Miarinarivo to Ankavandra. Upon this Commandant Gérard was sent to take the general direction of operations in this direction, and fixed his head-quarters at Miandrivazo. At first conciliatory methods were adopted, by inviting the chiefs to receive the French detachments pacifically; but Toëra and the subordinate chiefs of Ménabé refused negotiations, continuing to assemble their warriors along the banks of the Mahajilo, the large river which formed the principal thoroughfare from east to west through this country. Gérard, accordingly, at once proceeded to attack in detail the several points of assembly, and took, in succession, all Toëra's positions. Then he crossed the Bemaraha chain, which, ranging north and south, separates the Betsiriry from Ménabé, and descended the valley of the great Tsiribihina river, along both its banks.

Having cleared the way so far, the commandant proceeded to penetrate into the heart of Ménabé in three divisions; the centre division in native boats continued their way down the waters of the here navigable stream, with the other divisions on either side, by land, to clear the banks. By the end of August, the stronghold of Ambiky was captured after some smart fighting, in the course of which Toïra and several of his principal chiefs were killed; while Gérard was enabled to effect his junction with the French garrison at Morondava. The whole extent of the Tsiribihina valley had thus been traversed by French troops, who had disposed of all opponents in an effectual way; but, nevertheless, the unsettled country could only be said to be in Gallieni's possession within the range of the rifles of the French garrison.

Meanwhile, from Ankavandra a detachment descended the Manambolo to Bekopaka; while in September communications were kept up by sea between Maintirano, Behenjavilo, at the mouth of the Manambolo, and Sohanina, at the mouth of the Bekopaka. This series of operations being concluded, Commandant Gérard, who was severely wounded, was able to go by sea to Majunga for hospital treatment. The whole of the littoral zone on the west, as far as Cape St. André, which had long been, more or less, in a state of anarchy ever since Commodore Bienaimé had incited and assisted them to destroy the Hova stations during the war of 1895, was now openly hostile to the French. At least seventeen Sakalave chiefs were contending for the supremacy among themselves, but all were willing to unite against any outside authority. In fact, the whole of this side of the island was in a state of general insurrection.

Colonel Septans, however, kept these savage Sakalaves constantly on the alert. He captured Mahagaimby, one of the so-called 'sacred' towns of the Sakalava, destroyed the 'rova,' or chief's residence, and attacked various other villages, dispersing the enemy wherever they had assembled, creating posts, and forming garrisoned stations at particular strategic points.

The capture of the legendary robber chief, Rabezavana, by a detachment under Lieutenant Lyautey, assured the definite pacification of the Boeni, on the lower Betsiboka, and the security of the route to Mojanga; while the operations of Captain Deleuze, in Voromahery, where he captured the most ferocious of all the brigands, Rainibet-simiaraka, at length ensured the safe transit on the roads

to the east coast. The lives of both these last two brigands were spared by General Gallieni at the first celebration of the *fête* on July 14.

Meantime, the work of subjugation was not neglected in other parts of Madagascar, where even the Hovas had in vain attempted to enforce their domination. To the south of the Betsileo plateau are tribes which include some of the most untameable of all the peoples in the island, the size of which, it is always to be remembered, exceeds that of France in extent. Among these are the Baras, who mostly inhabit the open rolling downs in the vicinity of the Horombé desert; whilst next to them are the Tanalas, who occupy the more densely wooded mountainous country, overlooking the lowlands of the south-east coast. The Bara Bé submitted, without strenuous resistance, after Lieutenant Mouveaux had effected the capture of Ramicba, their chief, by a surprise night attack on Ranahira, a village near Ihosy, the chief place in the district already held by the French, who had taken it over from the Hovas. During June and July Lieutenant Baudran also succeeded in driving Isambo, chief of the Bara Iantsantsa, after some trouble, out of his dominions into the hands of the French Resident at Farafangana on the south-east coast.

Whilst visiting the Betsileo district in September General Gallieni gave orders for an expedition against Ikongo, the mountain stronghold of the Tanalas, which had long been regarded as impregnable to all assaults—although Radama I. had obtained possession of it by treachery. Commandant Cleret accordingly, moving on this natural fortress from three directions, surrounded it, and commenced cutting regular approaches through the woods, until, on October 10, under cover of a dense fog, Lieutenant Banal, leading his detachment by the sole practicable path up the precipitous mountain-side, penetrated within the Tanala works—for the enemy had strongly entrenched themselves on their table-topped mountain—and, followed by the entire column, crowned the summit and chased the Tanalas out of their last refuge, with a loss of thirteen killed and thirty wounded. Upon this the inhabitants throughout the district came in on all sides to deliver up their arms, and Commandant Cleret was able to establish the headquarters of his cercle at Ivohibé, and to establish regular communications with Farafangana.

On the termination of the war and on the proclamation that Madagascar had become a French colony a considerable

stream of immigration had set in from the neighbouring over-populated Mascarene Islands. The reports of the abundance of gold to be picked up without trouble had caused among the lower classes in Mauritius and Réunion an idea that Madagascar was an Eldorado. Taking a period of nine months—from January 3 to October 3, 1898—963 creoles* were disembarked in Tamatave by the Messageries Maritimes liners alone; without counting others who reached the island ports in sailing ships and other lines of steamers. During the same period, gratuitous passages back to Réunion were granted to 241 creoles belonging to that island, in a state of indigence; whilst as many (exact numbers are not given) Mauritians were sent back to Port Louis by the British consul. If the number of those who returned at their own cost be added to the above, it may be estimated that at least half of those immigrants stayed but a very short time, and, without having rendered any service to the colony, caused considerable expense to the colony's budget. The passage-money, reductions included, being nineteen francs each, a sum of 4,636 francs was thus lost in these nine months, and about 6,000 francs in the twelve-month. On the other hand, the hospital expenses during the year 1898, defrayed by the colony, amounted to about 25,000 francs. Now the greater number of the cases thus paid for were indigent creoles of Réunion; whilst, of course, the foreigners, Mauritius creoles and others, were paid for by their consuls.

By a law established in 1896† every native above sixteen years of age is, until he reaches sixty years, obliged to give fifty days as the maximum of forced labour on the public works. Government employés, officers above a certain rank, men over forty years of age, and those who were certificated to have a knowledge of the French language, are permitted to purchase exemption at the rate of half a franc per diem. But it appears that the French officials more probably the native overseers under them—have been enforcing as much as six months' labour, so that the over-taxed villagers in the remoter parts of the island have been taking themselves to the bush, leaving private employers without hands to work the plantations.

* Of these 963 creoles, 525 came from Réunion and 358 from Mauritius.

† Arrêté de 21 octobre 1896, au sujet des prestations des indigènes.

After two years' trial of this system, extreme dissatisfaction having been expressed by the better class of settlers, the Governor-General published an order in Council, October 29, 1898, by which all natives who had contracted an engagement of five years with a French colonist engaged in agriculture, commerce, or industry, were exempted from all military service or *corvée*; whilst a similar dispensation was accorded to all *Hovas* engaged for three years to any colonist on the coast, and likewise to all natives employed in the public service throughout the provinces. By this means General Gallieni hoped to encourage the expansion of the Hova outside their central plateau and their emigration towards the low-lying coast lands, for the purpose of exploiting the hitherto uncultivated parts of the island and setting an example of frugal industry to the lazy inhabitants of the littoral.

But neither has this experiment succeeded; for, in answer to inquiries as to the motives of the recent outbreak in the province of Nossi Bé on the north-west coast, General Gallieni has recently expressed himself as follows:

'The events in the north-west have, certainly, been provoked by the exactions of a certain number of colonists, creoles from Mauritius and Réunion, who molested the natives, occupied their fields and pasturage, and who have finished by driving them to extremities. On the other hand, large concessions have been granted in this part of the island, and the concessionnaires have done wrong in frightening the natives by telling them that they would be dispossessed of their properties. The Hindoo and Arab merchants, mostly British subjects, have equally spread hostile rumours, and these peoples, hitherto peaceable, have risen against us.

'It has become necessary, to my great regret, to send troops to this coast to re-establish order and to suspend the movement of penetration which was being accomplished in good conditions in the west and south of the island. The Malgaches have certainly great faults, but it is evident that certain colonists exercise little consideration towards them. They act by intimidation, and it is very possible that these incessant menaces have eventuated in compromising the good results which our officers have obtained. I have done all that I could to favour our compatriots and procure for them the concurrence of the natives. I have exempted from taxes and military service all Malagasy employed on French properties; but there are too many among our fellow-subjects who abuse my goodwill, and would insist that the natives should work for them gratuitously.

'Some of them even make a commerce in fictitious engagements, taking into their service a thousand pretended workmen whom they do not employ, but who pay them a rent for the sake of enjoying this exemption from military service and taxes. . . . Our miners

would like to see all the able-bodied men available for *corvée* (*prestataires*), without exception, handed over to them; they do not wish these labourers to be employed on the works of road-making which are of public utility; in one word, our colonists would desire simply to make use of the natives for their own profit, without any care for the general interest nor for the evil impression produced upon the Malagasy by these detestable proceedings.

The consequence of this behaviour by the colonists was the publication of a decree, on January 3, 1899, annulling the exemptions and dispensations from military obligations accorded to those natives engaged by colonists under the former circulars of December 11, 1897, and August 11, 1898.

But already the misbehaviour of the French officials and colonists on the north-west coast had produced a serious outbreak; and a curious feature of this fatal rising was that this country had for many years been subject to French influence exercised by the colony of Nossi Bé, in its immediate vicinity, a French possession since 1840, when it was taken by Admiral de Hell. Indeed, although the chiefs of this part of Madagascar have long been pensioners and subsisted on funds furnished by the French, at the commencement of the war they firmly declined to afford any assistance to the French transport service. Now that they have become French subjects their subventions have been stopped and taxes demanded instead, so no wonder they joined the rebels.

It appears that the exactions of the colonists at Marotalana,* as well as the reprehensible practices† of a clerk of the residency and an officer in charge of the native militia (both of whom were assassinated), were the causes of the attempt at a general massacre made in October 1898 by the natives in this part of the island, which had been looked upon as wholly pacified. Seven of the colonists were massacred, whilst the remainder fled to Nossi Bé. Fortunately the commander of the 'Fabert' gunboat lying in Passandava Bay was able to re-establish order, and the post

* Marotalana is situated in the bay of Passandava, at the mouth of the river Sambirano. The outbreak has since propagated an effervescence throughout the province of Analava.

† These 'practices' are not given by the 'Temps,' but the Mauritius correspondent of the 'Times' states how: 'A *fonctionnaire* close to Nossi Bé tried to force the twelve-year-old daughter of a chief to live with him as his concubine, but she succeeded in escaping and raised the country.'

was reoccupied by Captain Laverdure. No details have yet been published, but it is evident that the situation was for some time serious, as troops were applied for and sent from home.*

Another change in the general administration of the colony now took place; for, his *politique des races* proving distinctly ineffectual, General Gallieni began to alter his tactics and gradually to revert to the previous system of a protectorate. The Governor-General had at last discovered the advantages of employing the experience of Hova functionaries again, and the experiment was first made at Ilaſy of placing a Hova governor to direct the civil administration of the district under the control of the military commandant. This sensible experiment appears to work well, and the same employment of Hova governors is being extended in the pacified districts. But it will be long before the prestige which they formerly enjoyed can be restored, as they are now looked upon as the nominees of the French, whereas formerly they had the advantage of their position by birth and rank in their national aristocracy.

It seems, at last, to be admitted by the professional military authorities that the safety of the colonists of all Europeans—in Madagascar has been now assured:

‘Le régime du sabre a fait de Madagascar une colonie où l’on circule aujourd’hui avec plus de sécurité qu’au Tonkin, colonie dans laquelle l’administration civile a eu ses coudées franches dès le début de la conquête.’

Surely the time has arrived when the civil government of the French colony should be resumed. M. Laroche’s companion, M. Carol, has good cause for his bitter complaint that military law need never have superseded the ordinary administration of the laws in Madagascar:

‘Mon Dieu, une insurrection se réprime—c’est même à cette fin que nous laissons dans un pays conquis un corps d’occupation. Si nous n’avions pas cru à la possibilité d’une insurrection, nous n’eussions pas conservé quelques milliers d’hommes de troupe à Madagascar. La chose prévue se produit: aussitôt, affolés, nous demandons une dictature militaire. Devant les premiers progrès de la révolte l’armée trépigne, ricane, gronde, s’agit et n’agit pas. Au lieu d’entreprendre une répression méthodique, elle lance à travers la brousse de lourdes colonnes qui augmentent le ravage du pays et reviennent bredouilles. Qu’attend-elle donc pour agir efficacement? Qu’on lui cède tous les pouvoirs civils. Aux colonies, la fonction naturelle des militaires

* A battalion of Marine Infantry has been despatched to Diego Suarez; and a mountain battery of Marine Artillery to Mojanga.

ne saurait, paraît-il, s'exercer qu'à cette condition. On ne peut pas purger l'Imerne des fahavalas si la direction des travaux publics et la mairie de Tananarive n'ont pas un soldat à leur tête. L'armée consent à pacifier la province troublée, mais seulement si on la laisse maîtresse de réformer les programmes de l'enseignement, de réglementer les ouvroirs de jeunes filles et de surveiller si toute l'île de Madagascar applique bien le système métrique.

'Je ne discuterai pas cette conception arrogante et enfantine, dont le moindre défaut est de vouloir nous présenter les états-majors de certaines armes comme des corps omniscients. Mais je me demande en quoi la militarisation, nécessairement provisoire, du gouvernement de la colonie nous obligeait à laisser porter les derniers coups dans la politique d'administration indirecte?'⁺

It appears that General Gallieni said to M. Carol, 'Je compte un jour rendre la main aux Houves.' This officer had himself foreseen this future necessity, and by latest accounts it seems that he is already beginning this change of policy. 'Too late,' exclaims M. Carol; 'I pity your successor.' For, indeed, General Gallieni, from the commencement of his *régime de la militarisation*, was known to the natives as the Général Masiaka,† i.e. the cruel general; and long years must elapse before the impression that all French governors-general are equally ruthless can be effaced from the memories of the Malagasy.

In presenting his report upon the Budget of 1899 to the Deputies ‡ at the beginning of the present year, the 'rapporteur général,' M. Camille Pelletan, quoted a French politician's trite remark that:

'la politique extérieure de la France est conduite par des explorateurs très vaillants en quête de sujets de conférence et par des officiers très brillants en quête d'avancement;'

whilst the *rapporteur* himself added:

'Au lieu d'exporter des marchandises dans nos colonies nous n'y exportons que des fonctionnaires et des soldats. Nous n'y faisons pas de la colonisation, mais de l'occupation militaire. Les ministères militaires ne nous ont pas pardonné de leur avoir enlevé les colonies. Aussi dans chaque colonie s'élèvent des conflits incessants entre l'autorité civile et l'autorité militaire. Les gouverneurs civils ne peuvent se faire obéir même par un simple soldat.'

Certainly France has had to pay an enormous price for her newly founded colony in the Indian Ocean, in lives as well as in money, but this rich possession would, after all, have been cheaply acquired if she could only exploit the great

* Chez les Hova, p. 360. † Un Parisien à Madagascar, p. 52.

‡ Séance du 17 janvier 1899.

African island as a profitable business undertaking. At present there certainly seems no immediate prospect of obtaining any dividend for the profit of the mother-country. Up to the end of last year the bill France had paid for Madagascar amounted in all to over six million pounds sterling; * whilst for the present year over eight hundred thousand pounds is demanded; and as supplementary credits have usually to be applied for, it is tolerably certain that the real expenses for 1899 will amount to at least as much as those of last year, and surpass a total of a million pounds. It is not apparent how this amount is to diminish in years to come. Colonial expansion is a costly toy to keep in good repair.

To compare great things with small, take the little island of Nossi Bé,† now one of the dependencies of Madagascar, but lately a self-contained colony. The *raison d'être* of its establishment was supposed to be the good influence which it would exercise over the neighbouring mainland of Madagascar—that very part of Madagascar which is now the most unsettled. The total receipts of the island local budget amount to 240,000f., of which 37,500f. come from taxes on person and property—about 4f. per each person. The expenditure, however, mounts up to 772,043f., so that this ‘*délicieuse colonie*’ costs France every year 532,000f. 21,000l. The same system of colonial administration is apparently being followed in Madagascar, and France will continue to pay over 1,000,000l. yearly for its possession.

* Dépenses du ministère de la guerre au	francs	
31 décembre 1895	68,195,663	18
Dépenses du ministère de la marine au		
31 décembre 1895	28,532,000	
Dépenses du budget des colonies, 1895		
à 1897	32,764,655	22
Total	121,792,318	40
Do. 1898	25,800,000	
Do. 1899	20,185,000	
Ensemble	170,777,318	40

† Nossi Bé has an area of 96 square miles, and about 8,000 inhabitants. It has been a French colony since 1840. Its budget shows the following figures:—241,361f. service coloniale, 150,000f. garnison, 240,000f. budget local, 70,000f. travaux, 70,000f. subvention; total, 772,043f. Réunion, in like manner, costs France a subvention of 180,596l. (4,514,912f.) annually. Guadeloupe receives an annual subvention of 1,660,000f.

The supporters of colonial expansion, however, claim that Gallieni has now destroyed the American and British trade in the island to the advantage of France, and this, to a certain extent, is so. For example, the value of British imports from Madagascar amounted, in 1895 (the year of the war) to 139,005*l.*; within two years, in 1897, these imports had decreased to 67,859*l.* Our exports, on the other hand, to Madagascar had increased from 66,400*l.* in 1895 (when during the blockade little could be sent out), to 158,610*l.* in the year 1897 (when the tariff was imposed in August). The effect of this tariff is shown by the decrease in the following year, 1898, to the small amount of 34,598*l.**

Optimistic reports are indulged in by the officials at Tananarive, and it is said by them that the receipts by taxes gathered in the provinces now pacified, for the last year, 1898, amount to 8,000,000*f.*, that the receipts from that source for 1899 can be estimated at 10,000,000*f.*, and that if the expenses of the corps of occupation can be reduced, it will be possible within a few years to balance the budget without a subvention from the mother-country. *Rusticus expectat.*

No doubt the French have created some enormous improvements throughout the island. Tananarive has been transformed into a fine town of almost European aspect. The roads and communications are rapidly being made fit for vehicular traffic. Some time since the first caravan of the much-abused Lefebvre carts made its appearance at the capital, having been drawn all the way from Suberbieville by mules; while large sections of the road between the Mangoro and Andovorante are also available for similar wheeled transport. The railway from Tamatave to Iivondro is laid down, and the 'pangalena' or isthmuses, which divide the series of lagoons between Tamatave and the Iharoka, are now nearly cut through to allow water transit throughout their length.

A new line has been traced across the Angavo range by which fairly gentle gradients are obtained to surmount that precipitous mountain; and a concession for a railway from

* Mr. Ritchie has recently stated in Parliament that 'The quantities of cotton piece goods (of British manufacture), exported from the United Kingdom to Madagascar in 1897 and 1898, were 11,973,600 yards and 521,500 yards respectively. The values were 108,080*l.* and 4,859*l.* In addition, cottons entered at value were exported to the value of 3,777*l.* and 1,382*l.* respectively in the two years. These sorts of cotton goods are not manufactured in France.

Tananarive to the east coast has been granted to a company, whose contract, however, remains at present in abeyance. By an unsparing application of forced labour, all such works can be accomplished at a minimum of expense. But for all this, the French merchants and planters are not satisfied. They are not making fortunes. The cost of transport is still enormous, and although the French officials live well enough, the cost of living is no longer cheap as it was in the former days of the protectorate. We have seen what the state of the native inhabitant is: it is not so desirable as under the Hova rule. In fact, by all accounts, the actual transformation of Madagascar has not evolved what may be called a happy colony. We repeat that it must prove to be a very costly one to France.

General Gallieni has shown his impartiality towards religious differences by giving the Protestant schools fair play, on condition, of course, that the French language is to occupy the most prominent position in the curriculum; whilst the French themselves do not hesitate to admit the superiority of the school discipline and training which distinguish the establishments of the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Foreign Mission:

‘Les missions protestantes font en ce moment de grands progrès à cause de l'incontestable supériorité de leur enseignement; leurs écoles, dirigées par des instituteurs malgaches, plus intelligents et plus instruits que leurs collègues catholiques, ont en outre des institutrices qui enseignent la couture. On constate même depuis quelque temps la présence assidue dans les temples d'indigènes qui avaient embrassé le catholicisme après la campagne.’⁴

On the natural resources of the country we cannot dwell here; it is sufficient to say that a wide, but not unlimited, field is open for agriculture and cattle-raising. There is an abundance of fine timber in the north, which has yet to be exploited; whilst various species of caoutchouc and other gums can be made profitable, when the regions where they grow have become freed from the *fuhavalos*. All tropical plants such as rice, sugar, vanilla, &c., can be cultivated with advantage in the lowlands, and there are openings for other industries, like tanning and fibre-making. But French capitalists will be naturally slow to embark money in such business for some time to come. Of the gold-washing we hear but little. The only large company engaged in gold-washing on a large scale is that of Subervieville, and none

* Le Correspondant Spécial du ‘Temps,’ mars 1899.

of the reports issued by this company seems to have been made public. The treatment of natives by the miners has already been noticed.

We have before alluded to the Circular of April 23, 1898, and the direct injury thereby inflicted upon British trade, as well as to the imposition of the Customs' tariff, and the decision of General Gallieni to permit the coasting trade to be carried on under the French flag only. Our Board of Trade soon noticed from the trade returns how the exports of British produce to Madagascar suddenly fell in value; and the Foreign Office was duly informed that the enforcement of such rates of duty must inevitably kill the greater part of our commerce with the island. It had already been Lord Salisbury's duty to protest to M. Hanotaux, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, against the wrong which had been done and continued to be done to our trade; and in July 1898, because the legislation had been made even more injurious, and because another ministry was in power, Lord Salisbury repeated his protest against action which was inconsistent with the international rights of Great Britain and with the repeated assurances given by the Government of the Republic. Again in November, renewed protests were more than once addressed to the French Government without eliciting any response beyond a statement by M. Delcassé that the inefficiency of French vessels in number and tonnage for the needs of commerce had caused the revocation of Gallieni's decree relative to the national flag.*

At the commencement of the present year, during the discussion of foreign affairs, on January 23, M. Ribot, who was premier during the war of 1895, made the following declaration :—

‘ Nous avons des droits incontestables à Madagascar. L'Angleterre a reconnu notre protectorat en échange de l'abandon de nos droits sur Zanzibar, où nous aurions pu lui créer des difficultés. Nous ne l'avons pas fait. Pour maintenir nos droits, nous avons fait l'expédition de Madagascar et, malheureusement, nous avons laissé trop de soldats sur cette terre inhospitalière. On n'a jamais discuté les conditions dans lesquelles avait été faite l'expédition. M. Cavaignac a dit que c'était la loi d'airain; mais il est certain qu'on aurait pu mieux préparer cette expédition dans les années précédentes. L'Angleterre s'est refusée à reconnaître l'annexion de Madagascar, et cependant

* On March 27, in answer to Mr. Elliot, Mr. Brodrick stated in the House of Commons that no reply had yet been received from the French Government to the representations addressed to them as to the injury to the trading rights of British subjects in Madagascar.

dans la déclaration concernant la reconnaissance du protectorat il n'y avait aucune clause constituant la France garante des traités passés par le gouvernement hova. L'orateur peut apporter sur ce point son témoignage personnel, et il ne saurait comprendre les difficultés injustifiables soulevées par l'Angleterre. Alors même que la France se déciderait à faire quelques concessions, il ne sera jamais permis de dire qu'elle le faisait parce qu'elle a violé des engagements solennels.'

Now M. Ribot was Foreign Minister when M. Waddington and Lord Salisbury affixed their signatures to the declarations exchanged between their Governments with respect to Zanzibar and Madagascar in 1890, in which the rights of British subjects in Madagascar were expressly guarded. M. Ribot must, therefore, have referred to the unilateral declaration made by Queen Ranavalô in substitution for the treaty which she ratified in September 1895, but which was not ratified by the French Parliament.

Happily such discussions may soon be things of the past. Lord Salisbury will not allow the question to drop out of sight; and let us hope that, soon after these remarks have appeared, the results of the negotiations which have been in progress between the two countries will have been brought to a termination, and that Great Britain will have received satisfaction or, at least, some acknowledgement of her claims in the African island.

By tradition, the 'Edinburgh Review' has never indulged in unfriendly criticisms towards our allies of Crimean days; and in dealing with the affairs of their but newly established colony, we have been always mindful to quote French accounts of the doings of French administrators in Madagascar, whether civil or military. Again, we only share the opinion of many highly placed French authorities, who have long been interested in the economical developement of the island, when we unite with them in our expression of regret at witnessing the abject subjugation of a high-spirited nationality, which, by a more tender management of its susceptibilities, under a judiciously exercised protectorate—such a one as that contemplated by MM. Ribot and Hanotaux—might have been assisted to work out, in due time, its own civilisation, and to become a flourishing autonomous community with an extending commerce.

Apart from this, also, we cannot help regretting to see another 'open door' for European enterprise hermetically sealed up; for, whilst fully admitting that our friendly allies across the Channel have a perfect right to do whatever pleases them with their own possession, won by the swords

of Duchesne, Voyron, Combes, and other brilliant leaders—whenever our former rights therein may have been yielded in exchange for concessions elsewhere—still we are but too well aware that such a strict protective policy cannot conduce to the welfare either of the French colonists or of the various native populations which inhabit Madagascar. ‘Make,’ said M. Etienne to the applauding Deputies, ‘a colonial France, great, rich, and prosperous, and the greatness of France will certainly be increased.’ We shall only be too glad to join in applauding *France Coloniale*, when we witness the great African island also rich and prosperous - no longer a burden to the white men who rule her destinies.

ART. IX.—1. *Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton, K.G., from hitherto unpublished Documents in the possession of his family.* Edited by Sir WILLIAM R. ANSON, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. 8vo. London: 1898.

As for all ordinary conversation or reading there is but one Lord Burghley or one Duke of Marlborough, so there is but one Duke of Grafton. What the chronicles of success and glory have done for the first two, the bitter invective of a malignant enemy has done for the last. In the words of Sir George Trevelyan, 'The portrait bitten into the national memory by the acid of Junius has never been obliterated. . . . Doing penance for the accumulated sins and scandals of his colleagues, Grafton, while English is read, will continue to stand in his white sheet beneath the very centre of the dome in the temple of history.' That Junius was an unscrupulous liar, that he drew his facts from imagination and coloured them by spite, is familiarly known by every one at all conversant with English history or biography; and yet, such is the power of words, mere words, when wielded by a master, that where the blow falls it leaves an indelible mark. The autobiography of Grafton, now edited by the Warden of All Souls, will certainly not affect popular opinion; but it is sufficient to convince every candid reader that the character sketch which has been so generally accepted is an absurd and venomous travesty, not even a caricature. This excessive virulence has led Sir William Anson to some interesting speculations on the identity of Junius. He says:—

'There was no conceivable reason why a clerk in the War Office should have regarded either Grafton or Bedford with peculiar malignity, nor is there anything in the relations of Francis with the politics of the time to explain the calculated malevolence of the letters addressed to these men. To strike at them as Junius struck needed a motive; Temple, whose life was passed in political intrigue, had a motive, and had, moreover, the sort of temper which would not be gainsaid by considerations of charity, or even of decency.'

And in greater detail he says:—

'If we suppose that Temple was the guiding spirit of Junius, the excessive animosity to Grafton is explained. Grafton, and Conway, whom Grafton brought into Parliament, had been the mainstay of the weak Rockingham Ministry which ousted George Grenville at the moment that Temple had become reconciled to his brother. When the Rockingham Ministry collapsed, and Pitt was requested to form a

ministry, he invited Temple to become First Lord of the Treasury. Temple, thinking that Pitt, as on previous occasions, would be unable to do without him, demanded a larger share in the arrangement of offices than Pitt was willing to grant. Pitt broke with Temple and turned to Grafton. When Grafton hesitated, Pitt said that if the Duke failed him his ministry was at an end: the acceptance of Grafton made it possible for Pitt to take office without Temple.'

Continuing in a similar strain, Sir William Anson shows valid motives for Temple's spite against Bedford, whom Junius pursued with a venom second only—if second—to that which he directed against Grafton; the inference from all which is—not that Temple was Junius, a theory that leads to difficulties of its own, with which Sir William is not now concerned, but that, whoever was Junius, Temple aided and abetted. What he says is:—

'I will not disturb the ashes of the Junius controversy except to express a conviction, that whatever part Francis may have played in the composition of these letters, Temple directed their policy, supplied much of their information, and may conceivably have polished their invective. And it is the invective, and nothing else, that has made the letters famous. Of political wisdom there is little, if any; where the writer is maintaining a political opinion or a constitutional right, he seldom rises above the level of a clever advocate; but when character is to be assailed, the polish of his weapon shines forth and its cruel edge; and the sentences rise to the splendour of rhythm and balance, which have made Junius an English classic. And thus Grafton appears to all time as depicted in the tremendous apostrophe: "Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you may live like Charles II., without being an amiable companion, and for aught I know may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr."'

It cannot but be a matter of regret that the Duke of Grafton left no memorandum about his enemy. It is not as if he had not the opportunity. He wrote largely of the political and personal history of his time, but has strangely omitted all reference to what must have been a matter of some considerable interest to himself. It is conceivable that he wished to imply that Junius was a scoundrel whose name—real or assumed—would degrade his pen and foul his paper; who, by the falsity of his facts and the weakness of his judgement, had no just claim to be classed as a political writer. And it was of politics that Grafton wrote.

In 1804–5, when in his seventieth year, he wrote down his reminiscences in the form of an autobiography, primarily addressed to his eldest son, then Lord Euston, but with the

desire that after his death it 'should come under public inspection.' In this work he was largely guided by memoranda made at the time, and he incorporated numerous letters from the several men with whom he was associated, especially Lord Chatham and Lord Camden. It is thus a very detailed narrative of the personal events of his official life; but notwithstanding the author's expressed intention, the publication of it has for some reason been delayed till now, though the manuscript has been accessible to, and has been consulted by, various historical writers, among others by Lord Stanhope, by Lord Campbell, and by the editor of Walpole's '*Memoirs of George III.*' The present publication of it does, therefore, not add much to our knowledge of public events, and the interest in it is almost entirely as a study of character during a time when, more distinctly than in any other, politics were personal. In this respect it is fresh and unequalled. Nothing else has ever been published, which shows so clearly the utter selfishness and the inner working of the system which was mainly accountable for the woeful blunders made by the ministry of which the Duke of Grafton was the nominal head.

But if the interest of the autobiography has been thus limited in one direction, in another it is vastly extended by the admirable introduction which now ushers it into the world, and by the notes which accompany it. Nowhere else is to be found such a succinct, such a sharply defined, character sketch of George III. In drawing it, Sir William Anson has used the autobiography to throw light on numerous other memoirs; but the gathering these scattered indications into one, the focussing the several rays so as to bring out the perfect picture, is a work of art of the very highest class, as bright, as polished, as relentless as the work of Junius himself. Here is a short summary:--

'When we consider that George III. managed his parliaments, chose his ministers, and never allowed an independent minister to feel secure in his employment, or a subservient minister to leave office if he could possibly be retained, we may realise what risks the country ran under the rule of their king. For the capacity of George III. did not extend beyond the arts of obtaining power; our history can hardly produce a sovereign less capable of governing an empire.'

And it is not only the king who is thus laid before us; most of the leading personages of the time are described, often in a very few words. Here is a note on the great Earl

of Chatham, with a delicious characterisation of two of the writer's precursors: --

'Pitt, no doubt, possessed genius; but genius is not always the best companion for everyday life. For great occasions he was the greatest of living Englishmen; for ordinary business he was too often pompous, affected, intractable. . . . The two essays of Macaulay on Pitt seem to give an admirably just portrait of the man, well balanced between the fustian of Carlyle and the ill-natured reminiscences of Shelburne.'

In juxtaposition with Sir William Anson's note it is worth while to place the Duke of Grafton's observations on Chatham's conduct in 1766, which are the more trustworthy as, throughout his political career, Grafton was the devoted, self-sacrificing follower of Chatham, and—though an indifferent politician—had a good deal of the quickness in reading men and motives which comes to a graduate at Newmarket. After speaking of the negotiations with the Duke of Bedford's party, whose demands, he thought, were excessive and led to no satisfactory result, he continued:

'Lord Chatham, with his superior talents, did not possess that of conciliating mankind; he was admired, but was rarely liked. So far from succeeding in smoothing away all party divisions, as had been his first and great declaration, he contrived to irritate and offend most; and his mistrust of the friends of the Duke of Newcastle was greater than could be conceived. While he continued to honour them for the political principles by which they professed to be actuated, he suspected that they were not well-wishers to him, in which he was probably not mistaken; but he at length put their patience to a trial, which could only be received by that party as a declaration of hostility.'

The particular measure referred to was the appointing Sir John Shelley to the post of Treasurer of the Household, having previously made a vacancy by dismissing Lord Edgcumbe. It had, what in Chatham's humour at the time was perhaps its special charm, the certainty of offending two of the opposing parties; the Rockingham Whigs, with whom Edgcumbe was closely allied, and the Duke of Newcastle, who was Shelley's uncle and had an embittered quarrel with his nephew. Other portraits and illustrations will present themselves in due course; but the Duke of Grafton is the central figure of the volume, and must be so considered here.

Born in 1735, he succeeded to the title in 1757, on the death of his grandfather, the second duke, for many years Lord Chamberlain, and 'the much honoured friend' of George II. When the young Duke waited on his Majesty at Kensington to deliver his grandfather's 'ensigns of the

'Order of the Garter, the king, with tears evidently rising in his eyes, said, "Duke of Grafton, I always honoured and loved your grandfather, and lament his loss. I wish you may be like him. I hear you are a very good boy."' In the previous year, while still a commoner, Grafton, then Lord Euston, had been returned to Parliament as member for Bury St. Edmunds; and, though having no official connexion with parliamentary business, was, by his grandfather's rank and his own office as one of the Lords of the Prince of Wales's Bedchamber, in a position to hear the political opinions of the day. His remarkable description of the state of public feeling at the time is thus something more than mere gossip; it has a value of its own. It refers to the end of 1756 and the beginning of 1757, previous, that is, to the coalition of Pitt and Newcastle; to the date of the failure of the fleet in the Mediterranean and of the death-sentence on Admiral Byng for criminal neglect.

'Those persons who were not witnesses would hardly be brought to credit the degree of despondency which, from some time back till this moment [the formation of the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry], prevailed almost universally through all ranks of people. I can never forget it, nor the indignation with which I, as a young man, viewed an alarm so foreign to the just character of the country. "The contention with the power of France," too many usually argued, "was vain and hopeless," and that "if we could fortuitously hold up against it for their own times, it would crown their highest expectations." No less striking, nor less wonderful, was the almost instantaneous turn from that dejection which the nation soon demonstrated. Mr. Pitt's spirit, vigour, and perseverance seemed to instil itself into the heart of every individual, as well as those employed in both services, in a manner more than natural, and this in every quarter of the globe. The consequences were, security at home, and as complete success by sea and land as Britain has to boast.'

During these following years—the years which Voltaire, in his '*Histoire Universelle*,' treated of in a chapter headed '*Les Anglais victorieux dans les Quatre Parties du Monde*'—Grafton took no part in public affairs; and even his office in the prince's household he resigned some time before the death of George II. An old man writing of his youth, of years glorious in the annals of his country, was naturally led to make an unfavourable comparison of the state of affairs in 1804 with that in 1760, when the administration had been 'gaining every day more and more the confidence of the nation, as also weight and consideration from foreign States who admired and envied the prosperity of this country;' whereas, 'at no period of my time,' he says, 'have

'I ever known the situation of this country to be equally 'gloomy and alarming as at this present, while I hold my 'pen.' A bold statement, certainly, for one who remembered the situation in 1779, or 1780, or 1781. The decline began, he considered, with the accession of George III.; and to the king himself he directly imputes a large share of the blame. Notions, he says, had been instilled into his mind

'that the late king had never been so far his own master as to have about him those ministers whom he would himself have chosen; and it was insinuated to the young king that, in order to secure himself from the like dilemma, no measures would with equal certainty effect this object, until the body of the Whigs, whose influence from long possession of power had become formidable, was fairly broken asunder.'

The shattering of the Whig party as it then stood was naturally, in the eyes of an advanced Whig of revolutionary times, the head and front of the king's wickedness; and, indeed, the blame has been almost always laid on the king's shoulders and on those of his creature. But there were other causes, of equal if not of greater moment; and Sir William Anson, whilst attributing much to 'the imperious courage of George III. and the unscrupulous 'management of Fox,' says:

'But, in truth, the Whig system of government had no sure foundation: otherwise the long domination of the Whig families would barely have collapsed before a young king new to affairs, a bold party-manager, and a pompous amateur like Bute, who had neither eloquence, experience, nor business capacity.'

The fact is that the great Whig party was at that date an ill-assorted congeries of many elements, each intent on its own selfish ends, and ready—some, at least, as the event proved—to convert themselves into Tories or 'king's friends' as soon as it seemed profitable to do so. What they had been in 1756-7 they became again in 1762—factions fighting for their own sordid aims. It needed, in truth, little help from the king and Bute to cause the party to tumble to pieces when once the binding influences of Pitt and victory were removed. And in the years that immediately followed his downfall, the years of Grenville and Rockingham, Pitt, having no place in the administration, unwittingly gave a powerful support to the royal intrigues. As Sir William Anson has well put it:

'To the recognised Whig leaders Pitt was a disturbing element in party combinations. To these men such combinations were an end in

themselves; a ministry was a success if an adequate number of persons, whom it was important to satisfy, were satisfied with the offices conferred upon them, and the business of the country was somehow carried on. To Pitt, a ministry was an instrument for carrying into effect a great imperial policy, for furthering colonial enterprise, and for ensuring to us the command of the sea. So long as these ends were served, he did not care how the various offices were distributed, or whether the friends of Newcastle or of Bedford were most gratified by the distribution.'

Grafton, in the *laudator temporis acli* spirit of seventy, says that, powerful as the influence of the Crown was in 1762, 'it had not then mounted to that height where we now behold it;' on which his editor observes:

'It must be doubted whether the influence of the Crown was so potent a factor in politics in 1804 as it had been in 1762. There was less corruption at the later date, and more party loyalty. But the king's wishes had a weight due to the accident that George III. was, at the later date, always on the verge of insanity. Very recently Pitt had been constrained by the pressure of this anxiety to abandon the idea of a ministry in which Fox would have been Secretary of State and his followers in office. No doubt a king has a quite exceptional influence if he can intimate that unless his wishes are gratified he shall probably go mad, and throw the whole machinery of government out of gear.'

In the Grenville Ministry of 1763-65 Grafton had again no part. He was absolutely new to official life when in May 1765 he was personally urged by the Duke of Cumberland to take office, with the definite proposal that he should be Secretary of State. 'He told me,' wrote Grafton, 'he both disapproved and much lamented that I was so much retired from the world, and not giving, in my rank, every assistance which my country had a right to require of me.' Grafton replied that he would not take a Court employment, but that he would undertake any employment of business if he were satisfied that he could go through it with credit to himself and without prejudice to the country; but that he would much rather be without office and give the Government his independent support. 'The lower parts of business,' he writes, 'were not fit for the rank I stood in, nor were the greater more fit for the total inexperience I had of any office.' It is unnecessary here to do more than refer to the attitude of Pitt at this time, of which Sir William Anson says:

'Of all the political cliques at the time, the Grenvilles, though not the least capable, are certainly the least attractive; the pretentious vanity of Temple, and his determination to resist any political combination which did not give to himself and his family the importance which he

conceived them to deserve, make one deplore that, at a critical period in the history of the country, Pitt allowed his conduct to be influenced by this mischievous connexion.'

As it was, Pitt refused to take office without his brother-in-law, and the administration was formed with the Marquis of Rockingham as First Lord of the Treasury, Grafton and General Conway—the Duke of Cumberland's aide-de-camp at Fontenoy and Culloden—as Secretaries of State, and the Duke of Cumberland himself holding a nondescript position, which—whatever else it was—was distinctly unconstitutional. He was, says Grafton, 'present at all our councils, on a general request made to H.R.H., approved 'by the king,' and was consulted by Rockingham, not only on all questions of importance, but even in small matters. 'The reputation,' says Sir William Anson, 'which Rockingham and his colleagues have enjoyed for independence and capacity is in great measure a literary afterthought;' and in other places he reverts to the idea of the reputation of the Rockingham Ministry and the Rockingham party being in the main literary :

'So far as they could be said to have a policy when they entered office, their policy was to recover for the Whig families the position which they had lost in 1762. Here Grafton stood apart from his colleagues, and it is here that he has come under the censure of the Whig historians. He did not regard the supremacy of the Whig families as an end in itself. In fact, he ventured to think that Pitt was more essential to the service of the country than Rockingham, with all the Cavendishes at his back.'

This difference of opinion was not long in producing its effect. Grafton was honestly and persistently desirous that Pitt should be included in the ministry, and towards the end of 1765 was led to believe that he would no longer insist on Temple's accompanying him. In January 1766 he was authorised by the king and Rockingham to sound Pitt. Negotiations being thus opened, Grafton and Rockingham had a meeting with Pitt, who expressed himself, in effect, as willing to join the ministry, 'but,' he said, 'there must be a transposition of offices;' and this he repeated several times, much to Rockingham's annoyance, Grafton thought. But the point upon which Pitt appeared to lay the greatest stress was 'the disgrace that the recall of Lord George Sackville to the Council had brought on the nation, declaring over and over that his Lordship and he could not sit at the council board together.' With Pitt's high sense of the honour of the nation this was not to be

wondered at. In April 1760 Sackville had been tried by court-martial for cowardice and misconduct in the battle of Minden, had been dismissed the service, had been pronounced unfit to serve the king in any military * capacity, and had been struck off the list of the Privy Council. Rockingham had obtained his restoration to the Privy Council and his appointment as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Practically the negotiations ended with this meeting; for, though further overtures to Pitt were made indirectly, Rockingham had no fancy for the 'transposition' which Pitt had spoken of, and 'the declaration he had made of 'never sitting at the Privy Council with Lord George Sackville was,' Grafton thought, 'still more galling.' By the end of April Rockingham said openly that 'he would never 'advise his Majesty to call Mr. Pitt into his closet, that this 'was a fixed resolution to which he would adhere.' As a fixed resolution Grafton understood it, and forthwith resigned. He was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond, but the blow was fatal, and in less than three months the ministry came to an end.

A letter from Pitt brought Grafton to town in the middle of July. He was told, though without details—which, indeed, were not settled—that 'a new administration would 'take place immediately on the most extensive and comprehensive plan, in the formation of which there should 'neither be any exclusion of any man of ability and integrity, nor any listing under any banner whatsoever.' This sounds like the scheme of other ministries which have been spoken of by such names as 'Broad Bottom,' 'All the 'Talents,' none of which has been a success. In the present case, although the individual members of the Cabinet were, in Grafton's words, 'most respectable for 'their talents and abilities,' the failure was more dismal than in any of the others. For, from the very outset, the ministry was without a chief. Pitt, as Privy Seal and intended to dominate the Lower House, struck dismay into

* Sir William Anson, referring to this sentence, omits the word *military*. It is important, as marking the loophole through which Sackville's family interest managed to wriggle. He was not employed in a *military* capacity; but some years later, as Secretary at War, he was entrusted with the direction of the army, and was largely, perhaps mainly, responsible for the disasters at Saratoga and Yorktown. Considering his career and its lamentable consequences, there is much to be said in favour of the greater severity of the Naval 'Articles of War' at that time.

his colleagues by accepting a peerage. It came on them as an unexpected shock. According to Grafton, 'Our conception of the strength of the administration had been till that moment derived from the great advantage he would have given to it by remaining with the Commons.' But even as Earl of Chatham he never took any effective part in the work. When Parliament met in October he was at Bath, and had roused the determined antagonism of the Bedford party, of the Rockingham party, and of the Duke of Newcastle. In November, when on the way to London, he had a violent attack of gout, which compelled him to return to Bath. And from that time he was practically dead to the ministry.

Grafton, who was just thirty-one, and whose official experience was limited to the few months as Secretary of State in the Rockingham Ministry, had been forced by Pitt to take the office of First Lord of the Treasury. When Pitt first mentioned it as approved by the king, Grafton declined it; and, as Pitt insisted, he thought that by this he would escape the toils of office altogether. But

'At last Mr. Pitt, showing strong marks of disappointment, rose from his chair, and declared that he must fairly tell me, that his whole attempt to relieve the country and his Majesty was at an end; and that he must acquaint the king that he was once more frustrated in his endeavours to serve him; and that he should recommend to his Majesty to employ others; for that he could do nothing if he had not my assistance at the Treasury, his own health allowing him to enter into no office except that of Privy Seal. Here all that I wished to see established, together with all that I dreaded for myself, crowded at once on my mind, already too much agitated for due consideration. If Mr. Pitt's threatenings were realised, it was easy to foresee the confusion into which the country would be plunged, and possibly that I should be marked as the principal cause of the disaster. I still remained as firmly persuaded as ever how little suited the post was to my inexperience and my feelings. I yielded, however, at length, though with reluctance, to Mr. Pitt's solicitation.'

From the personal point of view this account has a very great importance. On the one hand, the rejoicing over the prospective escape is clear proof that Grafton was not of the stuff of which efficient administrators are made. But, on the other, the statement entirely clears him of all charges of presumption, of indelicate clinging to office, or of mean subservience to the will of the king. That he was forced out of his better judgement of himself by Pitt's persistence was indeed a weakness, but a weakness which, in a young

inexperienced politician, it is difficult to blame. In after life he recognised his error, and wrote of Pitt:

‘His views were great and noble, worthy of a patriot; but they were too visionary to expect that ambitious and interested men would co-operate in promoting them. He had persuaded himself that his weight as a statesman, together with his present popularity, and the cause well supported by his Majesty, would be able to reconcile every man to those posts which he had designed for them. Mr. Pitt’s plan was Utopian, and I will venture to add that he lived too much out of the world to have a right knowledge of mankind. . . . No doubt could be entertained on the position that it was a desirable object for the country that the men of the best talents and fortunes and highest rank, taken from every party, should unite in one common cause. But in the height of his spirits, Mr. Pitt flattered himself with succeeding in an undertaking so very difficult; indeed, from his statement of the disposition he had found in some of the principal characters with whom he had conversed, I was led myself to give in to the like persuasion; until the intrigues of party, breaking out in various ways, discovered to us our short-lived delusion.’

It was, in fact, one more illustration of the often-proved difference between theory and practice. Than Pitt’s plan nothing could be better in theory; what it led to in practice the miserable history of the next three years has placed on record. Whether it could have been otherwise, even if Pitt had been himself able to direct the conduct of affairs, may be doubted, for the incentives to disunion were many, and the consolidating influence of a glorious war was wanting. As it was, the utter failure of the scheme was determined from the first; for Grafton was quite incapable of guiding the unruly team, and he made no pretence of attempting it. We are now so much accustomed to consider the First Lord of the Treasury as—in the absence of some other clearly defined arrangement—the natural and undoubted head of the Government, that it is difficult to understand the position when he did not claim the right to command, and the other members of the Cabinet did not concede it.

We have no intention of here repeating the familiar history of this period; we are speaking of it solely in its personal relation to Grafton. Mr. Lecky’s view of the state of things is that ‘in the scene of anarchy which ensued (on the illness and withdrawal of Chatham) it was left for the strongest man to seize the helm. Unfortunately, in the absence of Chatham, that man was unquestionably the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend.’ This does not quite agree with the evidence now before us, according to which Townshend appears not so much a leader

or guider of the Cabinet as one recklessly refusing to act in unison with it, as working independently according to his own fancy, and thus doing much mischief, but not as swaying the opinions or policy of his colleagues. It has been known that in March 1767 Chatham, much displeased with Townshend's conduct in the matter of the East India Bill, intended to dismiss him, and had offered the post to Lord North, which North declined. Grafton quotes a very strong letter to himself from Chatham, in which, after referring to what Townshend was reported to have said, he went on: 'If this be so, the writer hereof, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer aforesaid, cannot remain in office together, or Mr. C. Townshend must amend his proceeding. Duty to the king and zeal for the salvation of the *whole* will not allow of any departure from this resolution.' On North's refusal, however, the post was not immediately offered to any one else, and Townshend, 'owing to the violent illness of Lord Chatham taking place soon after, remained in his office, quite uninformed' as Grafton believed — 'of Lord Chatham's intentions in regard to himself.' But, in fact, Townshend either knew or guessed at Chatham's intentions, and, finding that Chatham was unable to give effect to them, he gave his wild ideas free rein.

Grafton's habit of omitting, or, indeed, avoiding dates in his autobiography seems to have occasionally misled himself, the writer, and, without continual care, is apt to mislead the reader. He has, for instance, put the notorious speech on the taxation of the colonies, in which Townshend said that 'he knew the mode by which a revenue might be drawn from America without offence,' as subsequent to his contemplated dismissal, and to Chatham's incapacity, which did not take full effect till May. But—as Sir William Anson has pointed out—this speech was made some months earlier, on January 26, and had, presumably, a good deal to do with Chatham's anger. Writing thirty-six years afterwards, Grafton probably confused it in his mind with Townshend's later speech, on May 13, when he laid the details of his plan before the House; and it is to this that he really refers when he says: 'No one of the ministry had authority sufficient to advise the dismissal of Mr. Charles Townshend, and nothing else could have stopped the measure, Lord Chatham's absence being in this instance, as well as others, much to be lamented.' Even if the other members of the Cabinet had been in agreement; if Grafton had been in the House of Commons; if Conway,

who nominally led the House, had been loyal to his chief, a good result might have been obtained. But Conway, sometimes in agreement with Townshend, sometimes opposing him, was generally in opposition to Grafton; so that Grafton, the reputed chief of the ministry, was unrepresented in the Lower House, and had no power to control or modify its policy. He thus describes the situation :

‘As the Session proceeded the want of cordiality among the king’s servants in the House of Commons was remarkable on every debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, often in a minority with the Secretary of State, and sometimes likewise on different sides. Mr. Conway and myself continued in our usual intimacy and friendship, though we differed in the conduct of the East India business, as well as in our confidence in Lord Chatham. The General leaned to the Marquis of Rockingham and his friends, and had never been easy in his own situation since the fatal breach with them.’

On the last day of May, in an interview which was forced on Chatham by a letter from the king, Grafton tried to explain the state of affairs; he spoke of the struggles in the House of Lords; of the opposition of Conway and Townshend in the House of Commons; of Townshend’s ‘flippant ‘boasting’ on the taxation of the colonies being ‘received ‘with strong marks of a blind and greedy approbation.’

‘I endeavoured,’ he says, ‘to lay everything before his lordship as plainly as I was able, and assured him that Lords Northington and Camden had both empowered me to declare how earnestly they desired to receive his advice as to assisting and strengthening the system he had established by some adequate accession, without which they were confident it could not, nor ought to, proceed.’

How far Chatham really understood all this may be doubted. All that Grafton could get out of him in two hours amounted to an entreaty to remain in his present station, ‘taking that method to strengthen the ministry ‘which should appear to be the most eligible;’ also an earnest hope that Northington and Camden would retain their offices; and so they parted ‘with the most cordial ‘professions of good-will and attachment to each other.’ It is thus certain that Chatham, as long as he could express an opinion, and, indeed, after his moral responsibility ceased, continued to urge on Grafton the necessity of his remaining at the Treasury, the nominal head of the ministry; and when Chatham was silenced, Lord Camden, then Lord Chancellor, continued to urge it on the twofold ground, that his retirement would greatly embarrass the king, and that as long as he remained in office the door was kept open

for Chatham's return, if he should fortunately recover. Negotiations were entered into with the Bedford and Rockingham parties, and dragged their slow length along through the rest of the year. It was not till December that a compromise was made with the Duke of Bedford, which brought two of his followers into the Cabinet : Earl Gower, as Lord President, and Lord Weymouth, as Secretary of State. Townshend, too, had died, and Lord North had accepted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Chatham still, in name, retained the Privy Seal. He did not resign till October 1768. Grafton's letter to Chatham at this juncture, October 12, is of personal importance :—

'I feel too much concern on the idea of any circumstance that can induce your lordship to retire from your situation in the king's service, from the prejudice it must bring on his Majesty's affairs, that if I had no other reason I should, even on this consideration, beg leave to represent my sentiments on an event so unhappy for this country. But, my lord, having myself given way some time ago to your entreaties to me to remain in my present post, when your health was at least as bad as it now is, I have some right to claim from you a return of the same conduct, when I see, as your lordship was pleased then to say, that nothing could be so truly serviceable to his Majesty's affairs. Give me leave to recall this conversation and assurance from your lordship to your recollection, and on the ground of it to entreat your lordship not to deprive his Majesty of that support which even the hope of your recovery gives to his Government.'

Chatham, however, was resolute, and his resignation was closely followed by Shelburne's. This was, in reality, a dismissal. Grafton had said to Lady Chatham that 'Lord Shelburne's want of cordiality to me, and the continuation of his unfriendly conduct, laid me under the necessity of now proposing his removal from office.' He had repeated this conversation to the king, who desired that, 'as Lord Shelburne was to be removed, it should be done in the least hostile manner possible;' and Shelburne having—probably from Lady Chatham—a clear intimation of what was intended, took the sting out of it by suddenly resigning. He was succeeded by Lord Rochford, the ministry thus becoming more and more closely allied to the Bedford faction, itself bent on urging a colonial policy of coercion. Of Chatham's resignation Grafton wrote :

'I shall ever consider Lord Chatham's long illness, together with his resignation, as the most unhappy event that could have befallen our political state. Without entering into many other consequences at that time, which called for his assistance, I must think that the separation from America might have been avoided, for in the following

spring Lord Clatham was sufficiently recovered to have given his effectual support in the Cabinet to Lords Camden and Granby and General Conway, with myself, who were overruled in our best endeavours to include the article of teas with the other duties intended to be repealed. There can be no doubt that the favour would have been gladly received by the colonies, especially if it was held out to them that their former constitutions, with their different charters, were no longer suited to their condition, and that Great Britain was ready to confer with them on establishing a free government, dependent on the mother-country, and exclusively possessed of the full right of taxing themselves.'

It must, however, be noted that Grafton made no open attempt to restrain or reverse the colonial policy, for which he conceived he was in no way responsible; and though he describes himself as entirely disapproving of that which was followed, he supported the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Hillsborough, who, as a 'king's friend,' inaugurated it and carried it through. And again, writing in his old age and profoundly impressed by the later course of events, Grafton speaks—as it has ever since been the custom to speak, and as Sir George Trevelyan, within the last few months, has spoken—as if the ill-feeling in the colonies was due originally and entirely to the Stamp Act, and fostered and brought to a head by the tea duty; although he knew or— as the Secretary of State at the time—ought to have known, that the discontents were of very long standing, were caused mainly by the navigation laws, were intensified by the Sugar Bill; and that the Stamp Act came as a God-send to the men whose fortune was imperilled by the rigid prevention of smuggling, or who had a personal grudge against the local government and governor. We are so often told of the unswerving loyalty of the colonists, till the ill-judged acts of Grenville and Townshend and Hillsborough turned their loyalty to hatred, that it is well to point out that, nearly two years before the Stamp Act was passed, Otis wrote:—'Nature has placed all men in a state of equality 'and perfect freedom, to act within the bounds of the laws 'of nature and freedom, without consulting the will, or 'regarding the humour, the passions or whims of any other 'man.' The whole pamphlet turns on the sugar* and fishery questions, involving the West Indian trade, and, notwithstanding the stock phrases of loyalty and affection, betrays an excessive bitterness in almost every page.

Almost more than for their colonial policy have Grafton

* The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved, p. 42.

and his ministry been arraigned for the prosecution or persecution of Wilkes; and this with greater strength in later times, when the legal aspect of the case has been better understood and the action of the House of Commons very generally condemned. As recalling the dates, it is well to say that, having been elected member for Middlesex, Wilkes surrendered to his outlawry on April 27, 1768; was detained in prison till June 8, when the outlawry was pronounced illegal. On June 18, on the conviction from which he had fled, he was sentenced to be imprisoned for twenty-two months, to pay a fine of 1,000*l.*, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years after his release. In December, Wilkes published his 'libel' on Lord Weymouth; and on February 3, 1769, he still in prison was expelled from the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Barrington, for being the author of the libel on Lord Weymouth, of No. 45, of the 'Essay on Woman,' and for being under sentence of imprisonment. He was re-elected in February, March, and April 1769; in each case his election was declared void; and on April 15, Colonel Luttrell was declared duly elected. As a member of the Upper House, Grafton had, of course, nothing directly to do with the conduct of the Lower House, by a large majority of which Wilkes was expelled. He has, however, told how, shortly after his first election in March 1768, a meeting of some of the ministers and friends of the ministers in the Lower House considered whether Wilkes ought not to be expelled.

'Lord North very ably opened the purpose of the meeting, Mr. Dyson stated the precedents of expulsion, and the Attorney-General informed the company what had passed in the courts, and in what particular situations Mr. Wilkes might stand at the meeting of Parliament, as an outlaw or as suffering an infamous punishment in consequence of his conviction. Mr. Hussey was strongly against a second expulsion for the same offence, *in being the author of a political libel*,* for, he said, his conviction for the poem could not be thought of in the House of Commons without coupling it with the means used to obtain evidence against him. In a word, the greater part of the company seemed struck with Mr. Hussey's objections, but my correspondent, who was present, says that he thinks it might be collected that all, except Mr. Hussey himself, will be for expelling Wilkes, upon the double ground of outlawry and conviction, and Mr. Conway declared as much before he went away. The meeting was not called upon to declare the part they respectively meant to take, nor were they informed that

* No. 45, for which he had been expelled in 1764.

Government had come to any resolution upon the subject of Mr. Wilkes.'

The use of the present and future tenses in the penultimate sentence of this extract, and the reference to outlawry, show that the Duke, in writing his autobiography, took this report verbatim from a memorandum made at the time, and it may thus be properly compared with a letter from the Lord Chancellor (Camden), written about the same date, April 3, 1768, from Bath, in which he says :

'I cannot pretend at this distance, without further information, to advise what proceedings are now necessary to be taken, but the only subject for consideration seems to be what measures are to be taken by the House of Commons at the meeting of the Parliament. If the precedents and the constitution will warrant an expulsion, that, perhaps, may be right. A criminal flying his country to escape justice, a convict and an outlaw—that such a person should in open daylight thrust himself upon the country as a candidate, his crime unexpiated, is audacious beyond description.'

On returning to London Camden learned, on April 20, that Wilkes would sue for a writ of error as to the outlawry and in arrest of judgement as to the conviction, and wrote to Grafton :

'Mr. W. stands at present convicted only by verdict; and if there shall appear to be any material defect in the record the judgement must be stayed, in which case he must be discharged, and he becomes a free man upon this prosecution, as much as if he had never been convicted. . . . Till judgement is finally pronounced against Mr. W. by the court no man has a right to pronounce him guilty, more especially as he *appears*, and intends to object in arrest of judgement.'

When Grafton wrote, thirty-six years later, he seems to have forgotten that the outlawry had been declared illegal, or possibly he mixed up his memoranda of 1768 with those of 1769 :

'If I was asked as to my opinion on this perplexing subject, I should readily answer that, on the first step of expulsion, all dignity was gone from the House if they could admit a person under a verdict of outlawry to sit one hour as a member of it. When he was returned member again and again, I cannot see why the repetition of an insult to the House of Commons should have altered the right, provided it be granted that it had existed. The two Houses must separately be sole judges of the seats of their members. Destroy that right and their independence is gone; for where else can it be placed? The most just rights and powers may be abused, but it does not follow that they are to be abolished unless it can be shown that they may be placed elsewhere, without injury to the constitution. However, the frequent

and repeated struggles to set aside the election of a person, though under such a stigma, gave occasion to keep alive a spirit of riot, which, becoming every day more violent, threatened to bring on a disrespect to all government and lawful authority. Whether the decision of the House of Commons that Colonel Luttrell was duly elected, who had not, by a great many, the number of voices which Mr. Wilkes had, was in strict justice determined I will not take upon me to decide. But sure I am that in the temper of those times, when the public were more than alive to every constitutional question, anarchy and confusion would soon have followed, in case the repetitions of Brentford election and votes of expulsion had not been stopped in some manner.'

There can be no doubt that during the later proceedings Grafton was made fully acquainted with the king's wishes; but if he took any action at all in the matter—which is not clear—it was at least in accordance with his honest convictions. That he was never, in the accepted sense, one of the 'king's friends' appears on nearly every page of the Memoir; over and over again, too, he speaks of his wish to resign, of his taking office in the first place, and remaining in it, solely on account of pressure brought on him by Chatham, who represented it as essential for the service of the country that he should do so, and, later, only because he felt it would be mean to resign when public business was in such a tangle. But anything like the clinging to office, of which he has been accused, is fully disproved by the autobiography, which, though avowedly written for publication, impresses the reader with a conviction of its straightforward honesty. Early in July 1769 Chatham had to some extent recovered from his illness, and Grafton learned, indirectly, that he would attend the next levee; directly he had no communication from him.

'This neglect,' he wrote, 'piqued me much. I had surely a claim to some notice on his recovery, when, at his earnest solicitation, I embarked in an arduous post, when he was incapable of business of any sort, and if Lord Chatham had wished to receive the state of political matters, I hope that it is not saying too much that he ought to have requested it of me. He chose the contrary; and even in the king's outer room, where we met before the levee, when I went up to him with civility and ease, he received me with cold politeness, and, from St. James's, called and left his name at my door.'

The recovery and the alienation of Chatham seemed to give the opportunity which Grafton had been looking out for, and he now waited but for the fitting moment to resign. On January 9, 1770, a few days before the meeting of Parliament, the king had sent Grafton a message—'that the continuance of the Lord Chancellor in his office could not be

‘justified; his Majesty hoped that I should assent to his removal, and approve of an offer being made to Mr. Yorke.’ To which Grafton had replied that, ‘though it did not become me to argue against his Majesty’s remarks on the present peculiar state of the Great Seal, I must humbly request that I might be in no way instrumental in dismissing Lord Camden.’ It has been generally understood that Camden was dismissed for his speech in support of Chatham’s opposition to the Address. Nominally it was so, though his dismissal had been decided on at least a week earlier. ‘At St. James’s,’ says Grafton, ‘it was at once decided that the seal should be demanded; but at my request Lord Camden held it on for some days, merely for the convenience of Government, during the negotiation for a respectable successor.’ The king was determined on appointing Charles Yorke, and an appointment on which the king was determined was generally made. Yorke, who was attached to the Rockingham faction, declined the post, at first provisionally, unless the administration was so modified as to include some others of the party; but the next day, wrote Grafton,

‘so decidedly that I did not attempt to say anything further on the subject. He expressed, however, a wish to be allowed an audience of his Majesty. This was granted, and at the conclusion of it the king, with the utmost concern, wrote to acquaint me that Mr. Yorke had declined the seal. On his appearing soon after at the levee his Majesty called him into his closet immediately after it was over. What passed there I know not; but nothing could exceed my astonishment when Lord Hillsborough came into my dressing-room in order to tell me that Mr. Yorke was in my parlour, and that he was Lord Chancellor, through the persuasion of the king himself in his closet.’

Sir William Anson seems to accept Horace Walpole’s statement that the reproaches of Rockingham and Hardwicke drove Yorke to suicide, and this may be taken as the most probable explanation of the fact. Grafton throws little or no light on it, though his account is interesting. He says:

‘I had long been acquainted with Mr. Yorke, and held him in high esteem. He certainly appeared less easy and communicative with me from the time of his acceptance to his death than I might expect; but . . . I had not the least conception of any degree of agitation that could bring him to his sad and tragical end; nor will I presume to conjecture what motives in his own breast, or anger in that of others, had driven him to repent of the step he had just taken. . . . He was, I believe, a religious man. It is rare to hear of such a person being guilty of an action so highly criminal. It must, therefore, in

him, have been a degree of passionate frenzy, bearing down every atom of his reason.'

Within a few days Grafton resigned. It has been very frequently said and repeated that he did this, beaten out of office by Chatham's denunciations, or in terror lest he should be held responsible for Yorke's death. Junius described him as abjectly deserting his post in the hour of danger, and seeking protection from the 'sacred shield of cowardice.' Certainly this does not agree with Grafton's own account, which is at least consistent with all that has gone before. 'Here I stood,' he says, 'under more perplexing difficulties than ever, and without any expectation of additional strength but what would arise from the appointment of an able chancellor.' But Sir Eardley Wilmot declined it on account of 'the impaired state of his health,' and Mr. de Grey declined it on learning that Grafton 'thought of retiring from the ministry as soon as he could reconcile it to his own heart.' The loss of Camden and Granby, the impossibility of filling the vacancies with his own friends, and the scarcely disguised hostility of his colleagues of the Bedford faction, more than even the 'virulence' or 'asperity' of Chatham, rendered the position no longer tenable. And so, on January 27, he told the king he 'was compelled to retire;' and though he adds to the story that 'the king's earnestness with me to alter my resolution far surpassed everything which my poor services could possibly have merited,' it is not improbable that the king was easily reconciled to a change which gave him, in Lord North, a minister more pliant and more obsequious.

For the next eighteen months Grafton was free from the trammels of office, and, though supporting the ministry, was in no way pledged to it. What cannot but appear strange, and perhaps gives a better idea of the innate weakness of the man as a politician, is the fact that, though knowing the hostility of the Bedford party which dominated the ministry, and though holding radically different views on the colonial questions, which had never lost their importance, and might at any moment become critical, he was still ready to accept office in it, and was prepared, if invited, to take the post of First Lord of the Admiralty on the resignation of Hawke in January 1771. His discussion of this possibility is interesting from the personalities introduced by a man who, with many failings, was no mean judge of character.

'I was always strongly of opinion that a naval officer should preside

at the head of the Admiralty. Any other could never know enough to give an answer satisfactorily to the incessant questions which must necessarily be put to him by a cabinet of landmen. In such cases what can the First Lord do but run out to get the information from others who, in consequence, must be let into the secret of what is passing, the knowledge of which ought to be confined as much as possible to the Cabinet alone? Admiral Keppel and Lord Howe were both, as men and officers, well qualified for the station, though probably Mr. Keppel would have declined it, as he was much connected with Lord Rockingham and his friends, who were hostile to the ministry. Had I been assured that Lord Howe would not be allowed to succeed Sir Edward Hawke, and that Lord Sandwich was otherwise to be undoubtedly the First Lord, I do not know whether I might not have been induced, on that consideration, to take the charge upon me. Admiral Pigot, in that case, I should have wished to have been my right-hand man, and it would have been my endeavour to collect in and around the board those men whose ability and characters stood highest in the navy; and we should have taken care that every officer we wished to employ should, with confidence, have relied on the liberal and honourable conduct they were to expect from us, and the country would have profited by the services of all our best naval officers, an advantage which Lord Sandwich's Admiralty could never gain.'

It does not appear, however, that the Admiralty was ever offered to Grafton. On January 5, 1771, Mr. Bradshaw, Secretary to the Treasury, wrote to him a report of a conversation with Lord North, which, considering the important part, during the next eleven years, the First Lord of the Admiralty had in moulding the destinies of the Empire, has an unusual degree of interest :

'He—Lord North—asked me if I had ever heard you express an inclination to be at the head of the Admiralty. I answered that I had repeatedly heard you say that you thought the Admiralty a most important department, and one in which a person properly qualified might do the most essential service to this country; and I added that you formed that opinion from being perfectly acquainted with the department and the manner in which it had been administered for some years past.'

It does not appear when or how Grafton made himself thus 'perfectly acquainted with the department.' On the contrary, his acquaintance with it must have been extremely limited. Bradshaw continued :

'He—Lord North—then asked me if I thought you would accept it if it was vacant. I told him that I knew you would not withhold your assistance from the king and the country, whenever you thought you could really be of use to either; that you could most certainly be of the most essential service to the country at this time by taking

the Admiralty, which, in its present situation, required both personal weight and ability in the person who was to direct it, and therefore that I had no doubt, if the department was properly offered to you, but that you would accept it, provided that you thought you could put the navy on the footing that it ought to be, and that it was the wish of his Majesty and his administration. Lord North only said that, not knowing anything of your sentiments, he had, on his first coming into office, promised to mention Lord Sandwich to the king whenever the Admiralty shall be vacant.'

On January 10, Bradshaw wrote again that Hawke had resigned the Admiralty 'yesterday,' the 9th; and on the 11th that Lord Rochford had informed him that Lord Sandwich was 'yesterday' appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, adding in a postscript: 'Almost 12 o'clock. Lord North has just been here for two hours, and, what is 'astonishing, he has never once mentioned Admiralty, Sir Edward Hawke, or Lord Sandwich.' Reading between the lines, we can now see that Grafton would have liked the post, and had, to some extent, counted on it, knowing 'the king's strong dislike to place Lord Sandwich, whose character he disapproved, in any elevated post.' Having also the record of the next eleven years before us, we can sincerely wish that he had had it. Though a very incompetent head of the administration, it is possible that he might have made an efficient head of a department; it is quite impossible that he could have been so bad as the man who supplanted him. But it was not to be; and in June the king, feeling perhaps that some reparation was due, directed North to offer him the Privy Seal.

'The offer—wrote Grafton—certainly came to me in the most flattering manner possible, and I accepted the office with every sense of duty, stipulating only that I should be considered as holding the office without being summoned to any Cabinet. This stipulation was the only prudent part in my accepting the Privy Seal at all; for, if I had given it due consideration, I should have felt that the reasons which made me avoid the Cabinet—namely, the little confidence I had in the principles of many members of it—ought equally to have shown me that I was not likely long to support their measures.'

But, in fact, it was not that he had 'little confidence in 'the principles' of some members of the administration; it was that he was absolutely opposed to the colonial policy to which the administration, as a body, was virtually pledged; and he passes on directly from describing his acceptance of office, to condemn the ministry for not completely removing the duty on tea imported into America. Had this been done, he says,

'exclusive of the other great salutary considerations, no one will hesitate in allowing that it would have been an excellent commercial regulation. Then if the effect be considered which it must have had throughout the coast of America, who is there now who would have wished that a so beneficial expedient had not been tried? For it will be recollected that the attempt to land the teas charged with a duty gave occasion to the first great insurrection in America; which, in the other case, would never have existed.'

It is, in history, always difficult—or, rather, impossible to say what might have followed on some totally different course of action; it is that we never have all the data before us, and in this instance we do not fully know the secret history of the Boston tea riots. On the face of them, the objection was to paying duty; we cannot feel sure that the real objection was not to the legal introduction of cheap tea, that the rioters were not incited by men whose warehouses were filled with smuggled tea—men on whom any great reduction in the price might mean the loss of much expected gain. How would the total abolition of the duty have affected these men? Can we be certain that they could not have devised some measure for preventing the introduction of tea still cheaper than that which was thrown into the sea at Boston? The fact is that Grafton, like the rest of us, was satisfied with the consideration of a select few of the data of a very complicated problem; and whilst recognising the political ineptitude which devised the Stamp Act, the tea duties, and the Boston Port Bill, took little notice of the pressure of the navigation laws, of the smuggling, and of the hereditary republicanism of Massachusetts, accentuated in the case of some earnest and clever men, such as Adams and Otis, by a sense of personal wrong.

Feeling as he did, however, the wonder is that Grafton continued to act with the Government for upwards of four years. It was not till after the news of Lexington and Bunker's Hill that he could muster resolution to separate himself from it. A more extraordinary instance of weakness in a public man posing as a politician, it would be difficult to find; and yet we may feel assured that it was weakness, not dishonesty, not tergiversation, or—in the phrase of the time—ratting. For a duke, a K.G., wealthy, and an ex-First Lord of the Treasury, there was, in fact, nothing to make ratting worth his while, even if it had been consistent with his character. During the rest of Lord North's administration Grafton remained in opposition, and the autobiography is mainly occupied with his comments on

the mismanagement of affairs—political, naval, or military. He claims to have had the earliest intelligence from France of the arrival there of Silas Deane, and to have communicated his news to Lord Weymouth, who smiled his disbelief. He had again the earliest intelligence of the signing of the treaty between France and the revolted colonies, and he mentioned it in the House of Lords, where Lord Weymouth, for the ministers, ‘protested that nothing of the sort had ever come to their knowledge, nor could they imagine that such a measure was in contemplation.’ A week later the treaty was reported officially, and Weymouth in the Lords, North in the Commons, had to bring down the king’s message informing them of it. Grafton believed that the Government displayed the same ignorance, the same ineptitude in every department.

‘To those persons,’ he says, ‘who were well acquainted with the characters and dispositions of our rulers it was not strange that ill-success should generally attend their plans and measures. Lord North in private life was an upright, honourable man, and his talents were unquestioned; but he neither had the peculiar talent himself of conducting extensive war operations, nor was the ability and judgement of his coadjutors sufficient to make up the deficiency. Lord Sandwich at the Admiralty was very unpopular with the highest order of the naval officers, many of whom declined serving under him after the court martial on Admiral Keppel, alleging that they did not consider their characters to be safe in his hands; nor was the confidence in the Cabinet much improved by the choice of Lord George Germain as the War Minister.’

When the North Ministry was at last broken up, Grafton accepted the Privy Seal under Rockingham, and—perhaps from having had his thoughts directed towards the Admiralty eleven years before—he devoted a good deal of space in his *Memoirs* to the doings of his friends, Keppel, now First Lord of the Admiralty, and Howe, in command of the Channel fleet. The operation of the year, in European waters, was the relief of Gibraltar; as to which, or, rather, the necessity for which, he tells us from the social point of view:

‘The enemy thought that they were marching down to certain conquest, and the French princes of the blood came in order to be eye-witnesses of the downfall of this mighty fortress. . . . At Paris nothing could be admitted as fashionable which was not “à la Gibraltar;” the ladies’ dresses were entirely so; and their very fans represented on one side “Gibraltar comme il étoit,” on the other they were so constructed as to fall to pieces, in order to represent “Gibraltar comme il est.”’

But Elliott—afterwards created Lord Heathfield—smashed the enemies' batteries on the land, and burnt their batteries on the sea; and Howe, arriving in the nick of time, refilled the exhausted magazines and storehouses, in the presence of a vastly superior fleet—French and Spanish; after which the siege was given up as far as active hostilities were concerned, and a few months later peace was concluded. We are here principally concerned with the attitude of Grafton in the negotiations, and may particularly refer to his views on the cession of Gibraltar, which have been curiously misrepresented, and within these last few years by Lord Rosebery, who, in his 'Life of Pitt' says, 'George III. was in 'favour of ceding Gibraltar for some substantial equivalent, 'on the ground that no settled peace was possible while it 'was withheld from Spain. Grafton and Shelburne adhered 'to this view. Richmond, Keppel, and Pitt were hostile 'to any cession of the monumental fortress.' So far as Grafton is concerned, this is not quite correct. He was strongly opposed to the contemplated cession. 'I differed 'widely,' he says, 'from Lord Shelburne, on the little consequence he gave to the cession of Gibraltar.'

'Lord Shelburne observed that I never had wished that the cession of that place should stand in the way of a peace, provided an equivalent was found, such as Porto Rico. I replied, "Understand me right; I shall always part with Gibraltar with the greatest reluctance, though I am still free to acknowledge that I think that a proper peace ought not to hang on this one point, in case a fair equivalent offered;" but I said that I did not know sufficiently the value and circumstance of the island to say that I considered Porto Rico to be such an equivalent as would satisfy me.'

And a few days later :

'I stated to Lord Camden how preferably in every consideration the possession of Gibraltar was over Mahon; and in the point particularly when Lord Camden supposed they would become useless without a superior fleet in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar had an advantage over the other which could not be called in question; for that fortress had proved that she can stand with an occasional relief against the greatest force: whereas Mahon must fall if vigorously attacked.'

Other conversations to the same effect are recorded. 'I 'professed,' he says, 'great indignation that Spain should 'succeed in having her great object, Gibraltar, conceded to 'her without giving up Trinidad, to be in addition to any 'cession she had proposed to us;' or again, 'I pressed my 'advice for the retaining Gibraltar, unless such an exchange

'was given as would satisfy the country—a point by no means attainable with ease:' and at last, 'I was made happy by finding that Gibraltar was to be retained by England.' From all which it appears certain that, though not taking up the uncompromising attitude attributed to Koppel or Richmond, Grafton was very far from agreeing with Shelburne and the king; and that, in fact, the difference of opinion on this was mainly the cause of his retiring from the Ministry a month later. There were, indeed, other points of divergence, and Grafton seems to have expressed himself with a freedom that was not to the taste of either monarch or minister.

'Lord Shelburne,' he writes, 'instigated, I believe, by the Court, would gladly have received Lord North and his friends to strengthen his administration. Others, I doubt not, were equally disgusted with such an idea; but I owe it to my friend Lord Camden as well as to myself to say that we both frankly told Lord Shelburne that we would never listen to a measure so disgraceful in itself and revolting to our minds.'

This opinion naturally included the coalition shortly afterwards formed between North and Fox, and something of it he told to Fox himself, though without breaking the personal friendship which continued to the last. When, on the downfall of the Coalition, Pitt formed his Cabinet, he was desirous that Grafton should join it; not so much, we may believe, for any active assistance that Grafton could give, as for his social rank and his reputation as an honest man. Grafton, however, declined; and though he continued to take an interest in politics, it was as a friend of Fox, an opponent of the Government. Of Pitt's foreign policy he never approved. But he never again took office, never again gave an opportunity of questioning his conduct; and his mere opinion on public affairs has but little interest and no importance. The value of the autobiography rests on the clear picture it gives of the writer's own character and, incidentally, of the character of the writer's friends and acquaintances. The Duke of Grafton was a better judge of men than of things, and, without meaning it, distinctly portrays his incapacity, his want of energy, his want of firmness, which rendered him, at times, the unwitting or unwilling instrument of one or other of the greedy and selfish men by whom he was surrounded. As a man, his character will stand higher than it has hitherto done; and as a minister he appears as one to be pitied rather than blamed; the victim of circumstances which he could not control, the bearer of a burden beyond his strength.

- ART. X.—1. *Notes from a Diary in Asiatic Turkey.* By LORD WARKWORTH, M.P. 1898.
2. *Our New Protectorate.* By J. McCOAN. 1879.
3. *Germany's Claims on the Turkish Inheritance.* Publications of the Pan-Germanic League. Munich: 1896.
4. *Report on Railways in Asiatic Turkey.* By MAJOR E. F. G. LAW. (Turkey No. 4: 1896.)

Few countries that have played so great a part in the world's history, that possess such natural resources awaiting their developement, or that hold out so many attractions to the traveller, are so unknown as Asia Minor. The best parallel is perhaps to be found in the case of Spain. The resemblance, indeed, goes beyond mere companionship in neglect. In their physical features, and still more in their history, there are many points which suggest comparison between the two peninsulas. Both were Roman, both for centuries the battle-ground between Christianity and Islam. The most bigoted and most militant form of each creed triumphed both in the East and in the West. With Granada, and with Constantinople—for Constantinople in its history belongs to Asia Minor—fell, almost together, the last bulwarks of a higher civilisation. The house of Osman and the house of Castile worked and strove in the same spirit, absorbing Seljuk emirates, or Gothic kingdoms, warring steadfastly for the true faith, and building up, on the foundation of their genuine successes, vast ill-compacted empires, inevitably destined to crumble to pieces in the hands of their successors. To conquer and to maintain these empires Asia Minor and Spain have both been depopulated and impoverished. Happily for Spain, she is at last quit of that burden of empire she knew not how to sustain. But thousands of brave, obedient Anatolian peasants have still to die in Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace before any Osmanli sultan can resign his claim to the conquests of his ancestors, or turn his attention from the task of keeping down alien nationalities in a permanent state of suppressed revolt to that of reorganising and enriching his own people.

One of the reasons for the want of interest displayed in the history of Asia Minor is that it has always been treated by historians merely as a province of various empires. For Persian and Roman times this view is true

enough; but it is profoundly untrue for the rest of its history. For most of the period, from the beginning of the eighth century onwards, Asia Minor has been the centre and life of empires whose outer confines have extended far into Europe, Asia, and Africa—though the capital of Asia Minor has always, except during the short-lived dominion of the Seljuk sultans of 'Rûm,' lain without its own geographical limits. The Byzantine emperors, as long as they ruled the greater part of Asia Minor, were powerful sovereigns in Europe as well. With the loss of Asia Minor, Constantinople sank, almost at once, to the capital of a petty principality. For two centuries the Turks have been gradually driven back in Europe, stubbornly contesting every inch of ground. It is the Anatolian peasant that has covered the long retreat from Vienna to Belgrade and Nish, from the Don to the Danube, and from the Danube across the Balkans to the walls of Adrianople; it is the Anatolian taxes that have provided sinews for the long and hopeless struggle against foreign foes and rebellious subjects.

Again, our histories are more nearly concerned with the fate of the western half of the Roman Empire, for out of its ruins our modern civilisation has sprung up. But the Roman Empire, in any true sense, had perished in Western Europe long before the end of the fifth century. The Holy Roman Empire, however profound its influence on the history of Europe, was a political concept, and not a political fact. The real Roman Empire, with its organised administration, with its military roads, with its long chain of frontier fortresses, survived only in the East. In Asia Minor, possessed of a defensible land frontier, a large population, and vast wealth, that empire maintained itself for centuries after it had perished elsewhere. The population and wealth gradually decreased, the busy municipal life slowly stagnated into the routine of fixed castes, the farmers dwindled away as the land fell more and more into the hands of large owners, the burden of taxation became too great to bear; after a while the ravages of war, earthquake, or pestilence were no longer repaired. Yet it was not till the close of the eleventh century, nearly seven hundred years after the German invasion had swept over all Western Europe, and five hundred years after the Slavs, Pechenegs, and Bulgars had overrun all the lands between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, that the final break-up of all things came in Asia Minor, and, in a new '*Völkerwanderung*,' the Turkish

tribes pitched their camp among the ruins of Roman cities, and blotted out the last vestiges of Roman civilisation. Once realised that for four centuries Asia Minor was the Roman Empire, and its whole history before and after becomes invested with a new meaning. Throughout all these centuries the Byzantine monarchs had struggled with varying success to defend Asia Minor against the Persians and the Arabs. The frontiers continually shifted backwards and forwards with the changing fate of war. How many times the great fortresses of Amida and Edessa were besieged and relieved, taken and retaken, almost passes count. Nor was the heart of the country itself always secure from invasion. Again and again the armies of Chosroes and the Caliphs marched to the shores of the Bosphorus. For centuries Syria and the south-eastern provinces of Asia Minor were lost to the empire. The incursions of predatory bands of Arabs rendered the open country unsafe for scores of miles within the nominal frontier, and contributed to the miseries of the population. In the tenth century fortune inclined once more to Byzantium. John Kurkuas, Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II. reconquered the old territories of the empire up to Lebanon, and beyond the mountains of Armenia.

But Asia Minor was too much exhausted by the long struggle of the empire against the Bulgarian in the west and the Arab in the east; its resources were inadequate to provide for the defence of a greatly extended frontier, or for the administration of newly conquered territories. And just as Heraclius had only driven back the Persians to pave the way for Arab conquests, his successors, four centuries later, weakened the Arab Caliphate and annexed the independent buffer States of Iberia, Georgia, and Armenia, only to open a clear path for the Seljuk Turks into the very heart of their dominion. From this last onslaught the empire never recovered. The battle of Manzikert, or Melasgerd, in 1071, where Alp Arslan defeated and made prisoner the brave but reckless Emperor Romanus, was the deathblow of the Roman Empire. All the events that follow between 1071 and the final overthrow of the empire by the Crusaders in 1204 are merely incidents in its dissolution. Over-taxation, misgovernment, and absentee landlordism had already grievously thinned the agricultural population of Asia Minor. The Turks now poured like a flood over the face of the country, exterminating, driving before them, or absorbing the original inhabitants. Scarcely twenty years after Manzikert, Kilij

Arslan fixed his capital at Nicæa—almost at the very gates of Constantinople. The Crusades came too late to stem the tide of Turkish conquest. Within a century of Alp Arslan's invasion, Asia Minor had become a Turkish country. Rarely has so complete a displacement of one race by another taken place in so short a time. The north-western corner of the peninsula and parts of the northern coast alone remained to the empire. In the extreme south-east the new kingdom of Armenia—formed by the gathering of refugees from Armenia proper—for two centuries maintained its independence. Some of the wealthier fortified cities defended themselves for a while after the open country had become Turkish. Of these the most noted was Philadelpheia, whose brave citizens maintained themselves down to the year 1390. Here and there the Christian population survived in scattered districts, losing their own tongue and speaking only Turkish for the most part, in time coming to use it even for their church services. It is only of late years that the Greek language has once more penetrated into the interior, in the wake of the railways. Many of the original inhabitants managed to preserve their racial identity by externally conforming to Islam. At the present day there are various sects in Asia Minor officially classed as Mohammedan, such as the Kizilbashs in the north-east, the Lycian Takhtajis and Bektashes, or the Ansariyeh in Cilicia, whose secret rites are thought to have preserved through the intervening centuries a dim tradition of their former Christian belief. Craniological investigations, too, indicate that a considerable proportion of the original inhabitants of Asia Minor survived the Turkish conquest, and non-Turkish types of heads are especially common among these various sects. The Anatolian Turk of to-day differs widely from his kinsfolk in Central Asia.

After the death of Alp Arslan in 1073 his son Malek Shah had entrusted the carrying out of the conquest of Asia Minor to his relative Suleiman, one of the great-grandsons of Seljuk. Suleiman and his son, Kilij Arslan, were, to all intents and purposes, independent sovereigns, and founded the Seljuk sultanate of 'Rûm'—or Rome—for two centuries the central figure in the politics of Asia Minor. After a century spent in warfare against Byzantines and Crusaders, it seemed as if the Seljuks were about to establish permanently a powerful and civilised empire. Under Ala-ud-din Kai Kubad I. (1219-36) the empire attained its greatest splendour. It included all

Asia Minor except the small Greek empires of Nicæa and Trebizond, as well as Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia. Ala-ud-din devoted himself to restoring the prosperity of the country. He rebuilt and fortified the principal towns, restored the roads, and erected large *khans* for the benefit of travellers. Large colleges and monasteries sprang up in every part of his empire, and attracted crowds of students and dervishes from the whole Mohammedan world. Konia in his reign was the centre of the intellectual life of Islam. The advance of the Mongols forced the poets, artists, and scientists of Turkestan and Persia to take refuge at the court of Ala-ud-din. Most famous of the illustrious men who adorned the schools of Konia was the mystic poet Jellal-ud-din, best known under the name of 'Rûmi'—the Roman—whose father, Sheikh Beha-ud-din, had fled from Bokhara. Jellal-ud-din was the founder of the Mevlevi dervishes, and his *türbeh* or mausoleum is still to be seen in the beautiful *tekke*, or monastery, of the Mevlevis at Konia. The ruins of Konia, Nigdeh, Karaman, Kaisarich, Sivas, Divrik, Amasia, Erzerum, still bear witness to the beauty and strength of Seljuk architecture. But the splendour of the empire of Rûm was short-lived. Within a few years of Ala-ud-din's death the Mongols invaded Asia Minor, and his son Ghaias-ud-din acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great Khan. The successors of Sultan Ala-ud-din ruled, subject to the control of Mongol 'residents,' till 1307, when Ala-ud-din Kai Kubad II. was put to death by order of Gazaz Khan for attempting to assert his independence. But the Mongols never attempted to rule Asia Minor directly, and their power, such as it was, rapidly fell to pieces in the fourteenth century. The Seljuk dominions split up into ten independent Turkish emirates, called in most cases after the names of the first emirs. The history of most of these emirs is unimportant, but they gave their names to the local divisions of Anatolia, which have existed in the mouth of the people up to the present day, and to which the modern vilayets still in part correspond. The Byzantine division into *themes*—i.e. army corps—had, of course, perished as soon as the Byzantine armies were driven out. But the old local divisions, many of them dating back to prehistoric times, now finally passed away. Apart from the Osmanlis, the emirs of the house of Karaman alone possess any historical importance.

About the year 1230 Ertogrul, with his following of some 400 families, roving like many another petty Turkish

chieftain in search of adventure and booty, entered the territories of the Empire of Rûm. As a reward for his bravery in battle against the Mongols, Sultan Ala-ud-din bestowed upon him as a fief the small town of Sugut, between Eski-shehr (Dorylaeum) and the Byzantine frontier. The fief was small, and only to be maintained by constant fighting, but it was the germ of the great Ottoman Empire. His son Osman, with the rest of the tribe, embraced Islam. On the final disruption of the Seljuk Empire, Osman became an independent prince, and profited by the opportunity to seize all the valley of the Sangarius, and to set seriously to the task of driving the Greeks out of their possessions. In 1317 his son Orkhan, after a long siege, forced Brusa to capitulate. Orkhan was the real founder of the Ottoman Empire. Together with his brother, the Vizir Ala-ud-din, he devised that whole system of military and civil organisation which alone accounts for the marvellous success of the Osmanlis. One great secret of that success was the employment of carefully trained men, of 'specialists,' both for war and for administration. To defeat the Turks in the field was impossible, to be conquered by them often an advantage. The other secret was the use of the conquered Christians as an instrument for further conquests. Every one knows that the janissaries were recruited by a tribute of Christian children. But besides that, every Christian who was ready to embrace Islam and throw in his lot with the conquerors was sure to find honourable employment, according to his ability, whatever his former position in life. For three centuries the Osmanli Empire was extended in war, and administered in time of peace, mainly by Christian renegades, who in the narrow aristocratical society of Christian Europe could find no scope for their ambitions and their abilities. One of the shrewdest observers of the Turkish power when at its height, the Netherlander Busbeck, remarks that those terrible Turkish commanders, whom he had always imagined to be wild Arabs, Turkomans, or Assyrians, almost invariably on closer inspection turned out to have been originally small German shopkeepers, Hungarian cooks, Italian fishermen, runaway monks, and what not besides. The position of the Osmanlis was also an essential element in their success. They were in the forefront against the 'infidel,' and every fanatic and soldier of fortune in Anatolia hastened to enlist under their banner.

The actual conquest of Asia Minor by the Osmanlis only took place after the expulsion of the Byzantines from Asia

and the conquest of a great part of the Balkan Peninsula. Bayazid I., after defeating and hanging Ala-ud-din of Karamania in 1392, incorporated the whole of Anatolia in his empire. Ten years later Bayazid was overthrown by Timur at the great battle of Angora. Timur's invasion had been largely prompted by the dispossessed princes of Anatolia, who had fled to his court. These he restored, before returning to Persia, as a check on the Osmanli power. But the check was only temporary. After an interval of anarchy and confusion, the Osmanlis once more recovered their supremacy. Karamania, the only State which still held out, was annexed by Muhammad the Conqueror in 1472. Muhammad had already, in 1461, put an end to the semi-independence of Trebizond, and in 1473 overthrew Uzun Hassan, the chief of the Ak Kuyunlu, and extended the empire almost up to its present eastern frontier. The rest of Armenia and Kurdistan and the other Asiatic provinces of Turkey were added by Selim I. and Suleiman the Magnificent. The Persian frontier was contested for over a century without either side gaining a definite advantage, till peace was finally made by Murad IV. in 1639. The Persian wars did much to devastate and impoverish Eastern Anatolia, and were the most serious check on the advance of the Osmanlis in Europe. 'The war of the Grand Turk' in Persia was the war in Flanders of the King of Spain.' The Persian war was complicated by several risings against the Osmanli supremacy in Asia Minor itself, due partly to the unruliness of the feudal nobility, and partly to Shiite tendencies among the population working in sympathy with Persia, and in strong opposition to the severe Sunni orthodoxy of the Osmanlis. These risings occurred again at the beginning of the present century, when Mahmud the Reformer abolished the feudal system and suppressed the Dero Beys, or local chiefs, who had almost everywhere made themselves petty princes during the weakness of the central administration in the eighteenth century. It was Mahmud who introduced the centralised bureaucratic system of government which has since prevailed in Turkey, and which has come so hopelessly to grief in the present Sultan's reign.

Such, in their roughest outline, are the two great facts of Anatolian history—the permanence of the Roman Empire and Roman civilisation into the middle ages, and their complete extinction by the Turks. But there is much besides for those who look to history, not only for its lessons, but for the interest of the story itself. For no

story is so crowded with ever-varying incident, with invasions and conquests, battles and sieges, with famous names of men and cities, with all the spectacle and pomp of history, as that of Asia Minor. There is scarcely a village to which some memory does not attach, scarcely a river or stream that is not renowned in song or story—from Euphrates, the River of Paradise, and Halys, whose crossing destroyed a mighty empire, down to golden Pactolus and eddying Scamander. To Asia Minor belongs all that we treasure most of early Greek life and thought—Smyrniot Homer, the father of all poets; Thales of Miletus; Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Democritus, earliest of philosophers; Hecataeus the geographer; Halicarnassian Herodotus, the father of history. Here, too, is centred all that is most interesting in the story of early Christianity. We can follow the journeyings of St. Paul; in the great theatre at Ephesus we need but close our eyes for a moment to see in imagination Demetrius the silversmith haranguing from the high stone platform against this new intruder who would impair the reverence due to the great goddess, and to hear the angry roar of the excited populace, packed tier above tier up the steep hillside. We can wander over the ruins of the churches of Asia, and meditate on the fate of lukewarm Laodicea. To Asia Minor belong John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, the councils of Ephesus, Nicæa, and Chalcedon, and half the heresies that ever vexed the Christian Church. It was from Divrik, in North-Eastern Anatolia, that Basil I. transported the stubborn Paulicians to the banks of the Danube, whence their heresies travelled westwards with the returning Crusaders and sowed the seeds of that discontent which, suppressed again and again, finally triumphed in the Reformation. From the days of Cyrus down to those of Ibrahim Pasha, army after army has passed across this bridge between two continents. Xerxes, Alexander of Macedon, Pompey, Chosroes, Frederick Barbarossa, Timur, are but a few among the names of the leaders of great hosts whose march has lain across Anatolia. To the lover of ruins there is no country that can be compared with Asia Minor. Every period of history has left its traces—Hittite and Phrygian monuments, ruins of prehistoric Pteria, of Homeric Troy, of Greek, Lycian, and Roman cities innumerable, of Byzantine and Armenian churches and castles, of Seljuk mosques and colleges. There is a spot among the ruins of Ephesus where the eye looks across the broken heaps of marble that alone

remain to tell of the departed glory of Diana of the Ephesians, at the great basilica erected by Justinian in honour of St. John, an object of pilgrimage for many centuries till destroyed by Timur. To the right a long line of lofty pillars, on which the storks have built their nests, marks the course of what once was Justinian's aqueduct, built to bring water to the new city of Ἅγιος Θεολόγος—now Ayasolûk—which grew up round the cathedral. Left of the cathedral is a Seljuk mosque, and on the summit of the hill which overhangs are the ruins of a large Seljuk fortress. In that one view is contained the whole past history of the country. A dirty little village crowded in between the cathedral and the aqueduct fills in the present, while a small railway station on the Aidin line suggests a possible future. And Ephesus is but one out of countless ruined cities. The ruins of Asia Minor are not the oldest, or the most magnificent, or even the most architecturally beautiful that exist. Their fascination lies largely in the profound impression their very numbers and their present desolation make upon the mind. Everywhere one is haunted with the greatness of the civilisation that once was and that has passed away. Theatres, capable of seating 20,000 spectators, temples or churches, gymnasia and aqueducts built at the public cost, all speak of the wonderful vigour and exuberance of municipal life which flourished once in places now visited only by wandering Turkish shepherds. In many cases, too, the charm of the ruined cities of Anatolia lies in the natural beauty of their position. Such, for instance, is Hierapolis, with its marvellous natural aqueducts and snow-white terraces; with its ruined baths, whose pillars and carved stonework lie in confusion in the blue depths of the pool from which flows the petrifying stream; with its almost perfect theatre, its colonnades, churches, and mausolea—all on a broad platform high up on the side of a lofty mountain, and commanding a glorious sweep of view over the broad valley of the Lycus below, across to the fir-clad slopes and snow-crowned peaks of the Baba Daglı, the ancient Salbacus.

In beauty and variety of scenery few countries can surpass Asia Minor. There is only one serious defect, and that is the absence of great rivers. With the exception of the Euphrates, which hardly belongs to the rivers of Asia Minor, there is no river comparable to the Rhine or Elbe. Even the Halys is but a poor stream, in spite of its 800 miles of circuitous flow. But beautiful

springs are abundant, welling out deep and strong from limestone cliffs, like the famous source of the Marsyas at Dineir. Picturesque lakes there are too: the Lake of Iznik, Beyshehr, mountain-enclosed Egirdir; the finest, Lake Van, is without the limits of Anatolia proper. But the real charm of Anatolian scenery lies in the ever-varying outlines of the coast, in the fertile river valleys, in the mountains, sometimes bare, sometimes clad in luxuriant forests of fir, oak, or cedar. Few pleasures can equal those of a ride from the almost tropical groves and orchards of the low country, up through the secluded valley of some copious mountain stream, set amidst green meadows and fringed with thick groves of willows and alders; mounting ever higher up steep slopes clad with scattered firs, or through wild precipitous gorges cleft in the mountain side, till at last the height is reached, and there bursts on the view an endless succession of rolling mountain ridges, some densely wooded, some dry and bare, some dazzling white with snow. Then a short breakneck descent over slippery rocks, which only an Anatolian pony knows how to treat with reckless indifference, down to some fertile upland plain; a canter through lanes which might almost be English, by apple orchards and fields of barley; finally camping amidst the ruins of some all but forgotten city. Beautiful, too, are many of the Turkish cities, with their brown roofs and countless white minarets nestling among the green trees, lying close to the foot of some steep mountain, from which streams of clear cold water flow through every quarter of the town. Such are Denizli—the 'town of waters'—at the foot of the Baba Dag; Amasia, in the deep gorge of the Yishil Irmak, with its wealth of gardens, crowned by its ancient castle; Brusa, on the slope of Mysian Olympus, looking over the fertile plain, with its wonderful green mosque, and the *türbehs* where rest the first founders of the Osmanli Empire—Osman, Orkhan, Murad, the victor of Kossovo, Bayazid *Ildirim* 'the thunder-bolt,' and among these great rulers and warriors, hapless Prince Jem, who fled from his brother, Bayazid II., to Rhodes, and, after many years in exile, was poisoned by Pope Alexander.

Travelling in Asia Minor is a pursuit *sui generis*. To its strange fascination Lord Warkworth bears witness in his interesting narrative. It does not consist only in the scenery, or in the ruins, in the past history or the present political condition of the country, in the fresh open-air life, in the sense of exploration, or the mere feeling of difficulty surmounted in

getting about anywhere within the frontiers so jealously guarded by Turkish officialdom. It is the blending of all of these, the fulness and variety of the sensations enjoyed, the sense of novelty in everything, that perhaps account for the attraction. One can travel in other countries with a definite object, and close one's mind to everything outside. But here no one can travel and remain a pure specialist. The archaeologist becomes an explorer, a politician, an Orientalist. He practises all the wiles of diplomacy to appease or intimidate suspicious *Kaimakams*, and all the artifices of the bazar to obtain his treasures from reluctant vendors. He has his own scheme of political reforms, and his own theories as to which officials most deserve hanging.

The primary object of Lord Warkworth's journey through Northern Anatolia, Armenia, and Upper Mesopotamia except in so far as the pleasure of travelling was an object in itself—was a political one, and it is the impressions he has gathered as to the present political situation in those countries, and as to their future destiny, that form the most important part of his book. This holds good especially of Armenia, for his is the most recent account of the condition of the Armenian provinces since the period of the massacres. Lord Warkworth does not profess to be a profound student of Turkish affairs, but he possesses both insight and judgment enough to see clearly the main issues. Above all, he is thoroughly fair-minded. That he has a strong liking for the average Turk is almost a matter of course. And various passages indicate that, in spite of Lord Salisbury's dictum about the 'wrong horse,' there still lurks in his mind a regretful suspicion that Disraeli was right after all, and that the policy of 1878 only failed because it was not carried out in the spirit in which it was conceived. But he does not attempt to gloss over the general corruption and incompetence of the Turkish administration, or to palliate the unspeakable horrors of the Armenian massacres. He is not one of those who delude themselves into the belief that Turkey would do well if only the Powers left her in peace, and if only England would supply the Sultan with the money he wants for his long-planned reforms. Lord Warkworth evidently believes in the possibility of reforms in Turkey; but he is too deeply impressed with the hopeless failure of our policy in the Near East to suggest that England should again undertake a task which most men of both parties in England have agreed to abandon as unprofitable. And so he perforce acquiesces in regarding annexa-

tion by Russia as the only and the inevitable solution of the question. That our policy since 1878 has proved a complete and signal failure hardly any one will deny, least of all any one who has visited Turkey in the last few years. But judgements will differ as to whether it was our own fault that we failed, or whether the fault lay in circumstances that were too strong for us. One thing is certain, that the Disraeli policy, whether mistaken or not, was never given a fair trial. The object of that policy was to bring Turkey in Asia completely under British control—to reform its government, to develop its natural resources, and to utilise its armies as a check on the possibility of a Russian advance upon India. It was an ambitious policy, demanding continuous efforts, and involving great risks, implying also most serious obligations. The efforts needed to convert the influence acquired by the Cyprus Convention into a virtual protectorate of Turkey in Asia were not continued long. The peripatetic military consuls, who formed the very keystone of the new policy, and who in a very short time had acquired an enormous influence in the country, were withdrawn by Mr. Gladstone. The only efficient means of fulfilling the obligations incurred by the Convention—viz. the safeguarding of the Armenians, and the introduction of reforms—were thus deliberately taken away. The obligations themselves remained. It would be a wearisome and profitless task to recapitulate the events of the years 1895 and 1896. One thing we did not do—we did not for a moment deny our obligation to protect the wretched Armenians. In face of the massacres, no British Government, responsible to British opinion, could have dared to do so. Yet we failed absolutely to afford the protection which we had bound ourselves to give. The guilt of the Armenian massacres lies not at our door, but at the door of Russia. Men who ought to know believe that Russia deliberately encouraged the Sultan in his policy of massacre, aiming thereby at ultimately getting Armenia for herself without the Armenians. And there can be little doubt—for nothing else can explain Lord Rosebery's attitude in the spring of 1895—that Russia deliberately threatened us with war if we should dare to do our duty and coerce the Sultan. The blood-guiltiness is Russia's, but the discredit of it has been all our own. If there is one thing the Oriental can thoroughly appreciate and despise, it is cowardice. And that the English are cowards and deserve to be treated with the contempt due to cowards has become the firm conviction of the clique that

directs the policy of Yildiz Kiosk. And, indeed, it would seem as if our failure to save the Armenians had taken all the spirit out of our policy in Turkey. There is no Englishman resident in Turkey who will not complain that at present it is a positive disadvantage to be an Englishman, and that it is useless to turn to the British Embassy to get support for an industrial undertaking, or redress of some flagrant injustice. Petition after petition has been sent by the British merchants in Constantinople whose property was destroyed in the massacre of August 1896. Their claims were verified and recognised by our Embassy from the very first, but two years and a half have passed without the slightest notice being taken by Abdul Hamid of the representations of the British Government.

Whether this certain result of our inaction was to be preferred to the possible risk of provoking a great European war is a question which those who are most intimately acquainted with the mainsprings of political action are most competent to judge. Certainly both Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury considered the danger too great, and he would be a rash man who would lightly dispute their united authority. Nevertheless there are many who believe that Russia neither could nor would have carried her threat into execution. M. Victor Bérard, in his clever work '*La Politique du Sultan*,' is emphatically of opinion that England would have met with nothing more serious than diplomatic protests, and that by her hesitation she lost a unique opportunity to raise her reputation for sincerity of purpose and to strengthen her position. According to one view a single warship stationed in the Bosphorus with its guns trained on Yildiz Kiosk would have kept better order in Armenia than could be brought about by any scheme of reform devisable by the wit of man. Even among the Turks there were many who would gladly have welcomed any action on our part which could have encouraged them to put an end to the intolerable misgovernment to which Abdul Hamid and the Palace clique have submitted Mussulmans and Christians alike. But Englishmen have learned from their experience in Egypt and elsewhere that if they upset existing authority they become responsible for what is to take its place, and Europe was hardly ready to permit British influences, however admirable our motives, to take in hand the establishment of an improved Turkish Government at Constantinople.

It is unnecessary to dwell too long on the past. Far more important is it to consider what should be our policy for the

future. The British people is too much occupied with other questions, too much disgusted and discouraged by its failure to avert the Armenian massacres, to make any demand for a definite policy with regard to Turkey at the present moment. But sooner or later the Eastern Question will force itself upon us again, and the commercial and political interests of Great Britain in Turkey, or, to speak more correctly, in Asiatic Turkey, are too great for us to allow the question to be entirely decided by others. Sooner or later the highway from Europe to India will lie through Turkey and Persia, and it is impossible for us to regard with indifference the fate of countries capable of such vast developement, and likely to be brought into such near political and commercial relations with our great dependency. We are, indeed, far from the time when Mr. McCoan could describe Asiatic Turkey under the title of 'Our New Protectorate,' or speak of the result of the Cyprus Convention in terms such as these: 'The die is cast, and British interests are 'now as irrevocably bound up with Asia Minor as with 'India itself.' These words were not ridiculous or exaggerated in 1879, but they have a strange sound to-day. Yet even to-day the developement of the great natural resources of Turkey in Asia, and the maintenance of the 'open door' for our commercial and industrial interests—still far greater than those of any other country—demand our utmost attention. The English export and import trade with Smyrna alone amounts to over 2,500,000*l.* Nor is it impossible to conceive that our influence in Turkey may recover from the effects of the recent crisis. Events move very rapidly sometimes. Abdul Hamid may die, or be overthrown by a revolution, and with him the purely selfish policy which he has carried on will come to a sudden end.

Till within a few years there was only one Great Power that had a real and vital interest in promoting the welfare and the independence of Turkey, and that Power was England. But recently Turkey has found a new protector to look up to. As long as Bismarck exercised supreme control over German policy, the German people were taught to believe that the whole Eastern Question was not worth to them 'the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.' But with his dismissal a new and more ambitious policy came in. Germany has become both politically and commercially a World-Power, and William II. wishes German policy to be not only a European policy, but a *Weltpolitik*—a world-policy. The pomp and ceremony of the magnificently stage-

managed visit to Palestine last autumn, the embracings at Constantinople, and the speeches at Damascus, were only the public announcement to the world of the emperor's resolve to take the Sultan and Turkey under his protection. The actual work of increasing Germany's political influence over the Porte, and of pushing German commerce in Turkey, had already been carried on with vigour and success for years. Nor was the idea of making Turkey a German dependency altogether a new one. As early as 1844, long before German unity was realised, Moltke published an article advocating Turkey as a field for German colonisation, and suggesting the extension of German political control over the Ottoman Empire. The word German at that time also included Austrian, and so Moltke may be held not to have really foreseen the actual developement of events. But in the opinion of that ambitious section of German politicians whose views are represented in the publications of the Pan-Germanic League, that inclusion of Austria in Germany will sooner or later, though in a very different sense, take place again. The Pan-Germanic League boldly looks forward to a German Empire extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the Persian Gulf. The pamphlet entitled 'Germany's Claims on the Turkish Inheritance' regards the 'direct or indirect annexation of Asiatic Turkey' as almost an accomplished fact. It is conceivable that William II. shares, in his heart of hearts, the visionary imaginings which only irresponsible pamphleteers dare fully express; for, though visionary, they are not altogether absurd. A Greater Germany, extending to the Adriatic, and exercising a political and commercial hegemony over Hungary, the Balkan States, and Turkey, is not inherently more improbable than many things the twentieth century may bring to pass. But whatever the German Emperor's views as to the ultimate future, his present policy is a purely practical one. He is opening up by every resource known to the pushful man of business a great market for German industrial enterprise, and he is endeavouring to bring gradually under the control of German policy an army which even now is by no means a negligible quantity, and which might, under German instruction, become a formidable menace on the flank of Russia.

From the standpoint of German interests, William II.'s policy has been a quite commendable one. But there can be no denying that, in England at least, it contributed to make the German Emperor extremely unpopular. The

outspoken demonstrations of friendship and regard for the 'Great Assassin' during the very continuance of the Armenian massacres, the unprovoked hostility to Greece, are things that English public opinion finds hard to forgive. Nor does the unscrupulous pushing of German demands for concessions, good, bad, or indifferent, and the wilful elbowing out of fair competition by the use of the Emperor's personal influence, exactly recommend itself to the approval of the British mercantile community. But for all that, in its real essence, the German policy is one which is perfectly compatible with the interests of this country. Stated in its widest terms, that policy means the strengthening and the commercial developement of Turkey. Both these terms imply, as the very conditions of their fulfilment, the reform of the Turkish administration. They do not of necessity imply the support of the Sultan's iniquities; in the long run, they cannot imply it. There can be little doubt that, as German industry expands in Turkey, the German Government will be compelled to throw its weight on the side of law and order, and to interest itself in the safety of the peaceable population. And the more that takes place, the more will the policy of the English and German Governments coincide. Both must desire the moral and material developement of Turkey; neither thinks, for the present at any rate, of annexing the Turkish Empire, or any large part of it. Asiatic Turkey lies halfway between Germany and India; its commercial developement must benefit both; the German scheme of a railway to the Persian Gulf must largely depend on Indian trade for its success; as a military ally, Asiatic Turkey could be equally useful to India or Germany. Russian annexation would close the door to British and German trade alike. But Germany is not so backward commercially as to depend for its success on a policy of exclusion. No doubt the German Government pushes the wares of its subjects with a zeal and a success that are most dangerous to British interests. To that the only answer is that the British Government must do the same. There would be less complaint of the falling back of British trade in the Levant, less ill-feeling against the Germans, if our Embassy at Constantinople were as alert, as active, and as persevering as that of Germany.

But granting a certain identity of interest, is there any likelihood of the two Governments coming to any workable agreement as to the character of the influence to be exerted

over Turkey in the direction of reform? To that question no direct answer can be given; but one might safely venture to suggest that the developement of German influence in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia cannot take place against the will of Russia—and that developement must be against the will of Russia—unless England lends her active support. And the converse holds almost equally true, that though it may not be worth England's while to go to war with Russia single-handed for the sake of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, it may be well worth while to agree with Germany to keep the Russian out. In these circumstances lies the germ of a definite political understanding, which the events of the next few years may mature.

A further question to ask must be whether, short of direct annexation, any reform of Turkey is possible. In European Turkey no reform is possible. Nor is there much hope for Asiatic Turkey so long as the latter has to support the intolerable strain of keeping up the defence of the long frontier in the Balkans, and of struggling on with the hopeless task of suppressing a rebellious population. Turkey has long ago got into that vicious circle in which dishonesty and misgovernment beget poverty, and poverty in its turn prevents all hope of reform. If only the Turkish frontier could be drawn back to the Maritza, leaving nothing but Constantinople, Adrianople, and the Dardanelles in Turkish hands, enormous sums now spent on officials, soldiers, and spies would be saved, and might go towards the improvement of the rest of the empire. Even so it will be difficult for Turkey to work out her own salvation unaided. Nevertheless, by strong pressure steadily applied to the Porte, by the appointment of Europeans to many of the higher posts in the administration, by the introduction of European capital, and the developement of the means of communication, real and perhaps even rapid progress may be made. The changes that are most required at present are administrative, and not constitutional. The Ottoman law and Ottoman constitution, if only they were properly administered, are quite sufficient for the present wants of the people. The one thing above all that is essential to the introduction of reforms is to put capable ministers at the head of the various departments of State, and to clear out, root and branch, the gang of thieves that infests Yildiz Kiosk, and that has taken upon itself the whole government of the country.

The political reorganisation and the economic developement

of Asiatic Turkey must go hand in hand, for the possibility of each depends greatly on the other. So long as anarchy, misgovernment, and corruption are the order of the day, the European investor will be chary about embarking his capital -- and without European capital the developement of the country is almost unthinkable. And, conversely, the political reformation of Turkey must mainly depend on the growth of the revenue and the spread of a more civilised life. It is in the purely practical and selfish need of the two great industrial Powers, England and Germany, to find a new field for their manufacturers and engineers to conquer, and in the duty of protecting the interests that have already been established -- not in treaty obligations, however strict, or in popular sentiment, however strong -- that a really effective and continuous motive can be found for reforming the Ottoman Government. As long as the jealousies of Europe and the nominal independence of the Sultan continue, intervention on behalf of Ottoman subjects must always be a farce, or else involve the intervening Power in the danger of a European war. The grievances of European subjects, if rightly made use of, and not turned to mere instruments for black-mailing the Porte, as by some Powers they too often are, could be made by far the most effective lever with which to set reforms in motion.

In spite of German competition in recent years, in spite of the hostility of the Porte, in spite of the diversion of English enterprise to other parts of the world, we still have much the largest share in the external trade of Asiatic Turkey and in the industrial undertakings within the country itself. But that position cannot be maintained unless the British Foreign Office shakes off the notion that in a country like Turkey British industry can keep its footing without constant official support. That notion implies a belief in an intelligent self-interest and farsightedness on the part of the Turkish Government which is not warranted by facts. When the Sultan refuses to let an English railway continue its own main line, but is ready to pay a German company several hundred pounds a mile to build over the same ground, he may be neglecting his own interests, but it is useless to pretend that under such a Government there can be fair competition, unless we insist that there shall be fair competition. There is no super-human virtue in the British trader which will enable him to dispense with the ordinary conditions of commerce. If his stores are looted and his employes killed off in a massacre,

his profits are affected like those of any other mortal. A due maintenance and encouragement of our own interests in Asiatic Turkey need in no way bring us into conflict with other Powers, least of all with a Power like Germany, which is perfectly capable of carrying on a competition with ourselves on equal terms.

Of the potential capacity of Asiatic Turkey for development there can be no possible doubt. Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia are not new and untried countries like the Sudan, whose possibilities are entirely unknown. All these regions have been at various periods, from the earliest dawn of history down to the middle ages, the abode of flourishing civilisations. One need only wander among the ruined cities of Asia Minor to realise how densely populated were once regions which now are almost deserted, and how wealthy and public-spirited the generations which have passed away, leaving their place to impoverished peasants and thievish officials. The whole revenue of the vilayet of Aidin, the richest province in the Turkish Empire, would not suffice to build a city such as Laodicea once was. But in the days of the Emperor Nero, when an earthquake had utterly destroyed the city, its inhabitants proudly refused the proffered aid of the imperial purse, and rebuilt the city out of their own resources. The population of Asia Minor, now some ten millions, must once have been at least two or three times as great; that of Mesopotamia, now not a million and a half, may have been not less than fifteen millions. And between the prosperity and well-being of those populations, between Babylonian, or even Arab, and Turkish Mesopotamia, between Roman and Turkish Asia Minor, there can hardly be any comparison. Not a quarter of the cultivable ground of Asia Minor is under cultivation to-day. In Mesopotamia, where cultivation depends entirely on the keeping up of the irrigation canals, the proportion of land that has gone waste must be far greater. Yet even in spite of the decay produced by centuries of misgovernment, many parts of Asia Minor are still surprisingly rich. It would be hard to find anything in Southern Europe to compare with the valley of the Mæander, or the country between Brusa and the Sea of Marmora. The mineral wealth of Asia Minor is very great; but, owing to the lack of means of transport, to the vexatious restrictions of the Government, and the insecurity of many parts of the country, very little has been done to develop it. There is not much left of Pactolus' golden sands to attract the speculator, but silver, lead, copper, iron, chrome,

coal, salt, alum, boracite, are abundant. The whole country is covered with abandoned mines that would well pay working under more favourable conditions. Of the mines still in working a very large number are in English hands—e.g. the lignite, lead, and emery mines at Sokia, in the Meander Valley; the chrome mines near the Dolaman Chai, in Lycia; the boracite works at Susurlu, near Brusa; the silver-lead mines at Lijessi, near Kerasunt; the antimony mines at Gemin, near Enderes. Silver is found at Denek Ma'deni, between Angora and Yuzgat, and at Ak Dagħ Ma'deni, between Yuzgat and Sivas, in both these places together with lead; at Tireboli, near Trebizond; in the neighbourhood of Marsivan; at Bulghar Ma'den, in Mount Taurus, between Tarsus and Ulu Kishla; at Ispir, between Erzerum and Baiburt, and elsewhere. The silver mines of Gümüsh Khane (Silver House), on the road from Trebizond to Baiburt, are celebrated by Marco Polo, but, like most others in Asia Minor, are now neglected. Even those that are worked are worked most wastefully: Chihachef calculated (in 1887) that at least 20 per cent. of the precious metal was lost. Copper is found near Ineboli, in the mountains round Trebizond, at Ispir, &c. Iron is still worked near Samsun, in what was once the country of the Chalybes, so renowned as ironworkers in olden times. There are chrome mines at Beyjik, on the road from Brusa to Kutaya. Salt is worked at Changra, to the south of Kastamuni, and got by evaporation on the shores of the great salt swamp, Tuzgeul, in the centre of Anatolia. The largest known coal area is that of Eregli, in the north, about thirty miles by nine. During the Crimean War these mines were worked to supply coal to the allied fleets, but little has been done to develop them since. Smaller areas exist near Ineboli and at Amasra, in the same district. Coal has also been found near Mardin, on the road from Mosul to Diarbekir, and probably exists in various other places, in Anti-Taurus, east of Lake Van, &c.

The most serious obstacle to the development of Turkey in general, and especially of Asia Minor, is the absolute lack of facilities for transport. Little wonder that the mines are left unworked, or worked inefficiently, when both the machinery and the heavy produce have to be transported on ponies or camels, or that the Turkish peasant cannot prosper, when barley costs just five times as much at Trebizond, or Samsun, as it does in the interior. Asia Minor has no navigable rivers, and must depend entirely

on the developement of its roads and railways. The roads of Asia Minor are, as a rule, of the most primitive character. Roads in the European sense are rare; though nothing is more frequent than short stretches of expensively laid out but unfinished roadway, the memorial of some enterprising Vali, who started the work in the hope of benefiting his vilayet (or himself, as the case may be), impressed all the countryside to do *corvée*, and then, after his own or the contractor's embezzlements had exhausted all the available funds, departed to 'develope' some other province of the empire. Before the days of steamers and telegraphs the roads were still more or less kept up for travelling officials, and for couriers to and from Constantinople. But now there is no motive—except the public welfare, which does not count—for attending to them.*

The developement of the road system of Asia Minor is, however, not likely to be rapid. For in the nature of things it must be left to the Turkish Government. As a rule, roads are not built as purely industrial undertakings, and the collection of revenue on them, especially in Turkey, would not be an easy task. For the present, the develop-

* If few countries can boast such bad roads as Asia Minor, there are none whose roads have so interesting a history. The account of the Anatolian roads in Professor Ramsay's 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor' gives perhaps the most graphic epitome that could be devised of the whole history of the country. The most famous of the roads of antiquity, the 'Royal Road' of the Persians, with its bridge over the Halys, celebrated by Herodotus, traversed the whole peninsula from west to east. It started from Ephesus, and after making a large sweep to the north, through Sardis, Pessinus, and Ancyra, turned south again, to join the road system of Assyria. The secret of that great *détour* lies in the fact that the road was not the work of the Persians, but belonged to a far older system of roads converging to a centre in the north of the country. With this prehistoric capital of Asia Minor have been generally identified the vast 'Hittite' ruins near Boghaz Keui, the Pteria of Herodotus, on the northernmost part of the Royal Road, where it was joined by the road from Sinope on the north, and by the road from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates on the south. It was only after Persian rule had been established some generations in the country that the much shorter and easier southern route up the Meander Valley, and then by Celender (Dineir) and Caesarea Mazaca (Kaisariëh) came into regular use. This is the natural trade route into the interior, and remained the chief road of Asia Minor through Seleucid and Roman times down to the partition of the Roman empire. From that time onwards all the roads have converged towards Constantinople.

ment of the country must depend on the extension of the railway system, though possibly it may in future sometimes pay the railway companies to construct branch roads in order to tap the trade of districts where the expense of a railway branch would be prohibitive. From the very earliest days of railway building keen interest has been taken in the subject of overland routes to the East through Asiatic Turkey—especially in England. For a whole generation the indefatigable Mr. W. P. Andrew, chairman of the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi Railway, strove to induce the British Government and the British public to support his schemes of joining the Euphrates or Tigris by a railway with the Mediterranean. But the construction of the Suez Canal for a time put aside all the various overland schemes. Railways undertaken from purely commercial considerations are also not of entirely recent date. The Smyrna-Aidin (Ottoman Railway Company) and the Smyrna-Kassaba Railways were both opened as long ago as 1866. But for a long time progress was slow. The great rush for the opening up of the country by railways, and for the construction of overland routes, has only taken place in the last few years. To an Englishman it must be very disappointing to see how little of the opening up of Anatolia by railways is being done by his own countrymen. Originally all the lines, except the short Brusa-Mudania Railway, were in English hands—viz. Smyrna-Aidin, Smyrna-Kassaba, Mersina-Adana, and Haidar Pasha-Ismid (the first section of the present Anatolian Railway). All of these, except the Smyrna-Aidin, have passed into the hands of French and German companies. In Syria the Haifa-Damascus-Hauran Railway, the concession of which was given in 1890 to an English syndicate, has not come to anything, whereas the French Beirut-Damascus line has proved a distinct success. The causes of this failure of English railway enterprise to maintain itself in Turkey are various. The companies have been too eager to work independently of the Turkish Government and make their lines pay on their own merits, with the result that they have met with all the opposition and discouragement which any meritorious enterprise in Turkey always meets with from suspicious and corrupt officialdom. Their foreign rivals have invariably, by the guarantee system, closely bound the Turkish Government to the support of their undertakings, and secured themselves against loss whether their lines pay on their merits or no. The English plan is, of course, far the

best for the true interests of Turkey. By the guarantee system the losses go to the Turkish taxpayer, and the profits to the European shareholder (provided the railway is kept going somehow), and if one part of Turkey is enriched by being opened up by a railway, the rest of the country has to pay for it, a proceeding quite in order elsewhere, but out of place in the impoverished and overtaxed Ottoman Empire. There are other disadvantages, too—for Turkey at least—attendant on the guarantee system: railways are built where they are often least wanted, and the companies are tempted not to trouble about increasing their traffic or carrying out necessary extensions, but to live peacefully off their guarantees at the expense of the wretched taxpayer. Nor does the guarantee system really offer as good a security to the investor—as distinct from the *concessionnaire*—as the system of paying lines. It is hardly necessary to mention that the English undertakings have not had the same support at headquarters. If the prosperous and ably managed Smyrna-Aidin Railway had been pushed half as much as the German Anatolian Railway, it would long since have been at Konin, perhaps well on the way to Baghdad. It would be unfair, however, to lay all the blame on our Foreign Office. Nobody would suggest that, even for the sake of pushing English enterprises, we should have neglected our duty towards the Armenians in order not to offend the Sultan. But what so many Englishmen in the East feel is, that a bolder intervention on our part in the cause of humanity and good government would have secured us with the reorganised Turkish Government even greater influence than that now enjoyed by the Germans through the friendship shown to Abdul Hamid. We must also remember that English capital and enterprise have of late years been directed to so many parts of the world that it is hardly surprising that Turkey has been neglected. For Germany and France, on the other hand, Turkey is the most promising field for such enterprises that has as yet been thrown open—more promising certainly than the Cameroons or Cochin China. It is only natural, then, that the Anatolian Railway receives the support of the Deutsche Bank, the largest source of capital in the German Empire. Perhaps after a while English investors will again interest themselves in the development of Turkey, but there is such a thing as fashion in industrial undertakings, as in everything else, and just at present China and Africa are all the rage.

The total mileage of railways in Asiatic Turkey is about

1,540 miles, and will be nearly 2,100 when the Angora-Kaisarieh extension of the Anatolian railway, and the Damascus-Birejik extension of the Beirut railway, are carried into operation. Of the various companies, by far the largest is the Anatolian Railway, under the control of a syndicate headed by the Deutsche Bank. Its terminus is at Haidar Pasha, opposite Constantinople. As far as Ismid it runs along the line of the old English company, along the shore of the Sea of Marmora, and then joins the valley of the Sangarius, which it follows southwards till it bends off near Lefkeh, from which point the line continues south up a side valley to Eski-shehr. Most of this latter section had to be carried out against great engineering difficulties. From Eski-shehr the main line runs east along the valley of the Pursak back to the Sangarius and on to Angora, making a total of 361 miles in all. From Eski-shehr the branch line continues south through Kutaya to Afium Kara-hissar, and thence south-east to Konia, a total length from Eski-shehr of about 275 miles. The main line was completed in 1890, the last section, from Afium Kara-hissar to Konia, in 1897. The total capital of the syndicate in shares and bonds on both branches is nearly 9,000,000*l.* The Turkish Government guarantees a gross revenue of 660*l.* a mile on the line as far as Ismid, 960*l.* from Ismid to Angora, 945*l.* on the Konia branch, and 1,145*l.* on the projected extension from Angora to Kaisarieh, getting 25 per cent. on revenue in excess of guarantee. Its liability does not, however, extend to the whole of the guarantee, and the company is bound to earn some share (on the whole, about two-thirds) itself. On the Ismid-Angora section the company enjoys all mining rights for 12½ miles on each side of the line. As soon as the Angora profits cover the guarantee, the company is bound to continue to Kaisarieh; and as soon as the whole main line covers the guarantee, it is to be carried on to Diarbekir and Baghdad. There is no doubt that the railway has greatly increased the prosperity of the district through which it runs. The tithes assigned to the administration of the public debt showed an increase of 70 per cent. in the first four years following the construction of the railway. But commercially the success of the line is still doubtful. The main line has, owing to the large increase of traffic due to the Greek war, covered the guarantee during the last two years; but the Konia branch is a failure, and the Government has recently had to increase its maximum liability from 327*l.* to 440*l.*

per mile. This ought only to have been expected, as the construction of a line from Eski-shehr to Konia was an attempt to divert to Constantinople the trade of a district whose natural outlet is Smyrna.

The Smyrna-Kassaba railway, originally British, but taken over by a French company in 1894, was opened in 1866, and continued to Ala-shehr (Philadelphiea) in 1873. It runs through fertile country from Smyrna north-east to the Hermus valley, which it follows through Manisa (Magnesia ad Sipylum), Kassaba, and past the ruins of Sardis to Ala-shehr. From Manisa there is a branch north to Ak-hissar and Soma. The French company secured a concession and a heavy guarantee for its extension *viâ* Ushak to Afium Kara-hissar, and, in spite of considerable engineering difficulties in getting up from the Herinus valley on to the Anatolian plateau, the line was opened and Smyrna connected by rail with Constantinople in January 1898. The total mileage of the line is now 325 miles. The company only gets 50 per cent. of the gross receipts of the Smyrna-Ala-shehr section, but is guaranteed an income of 92,400*l.*, secured by the tithe revenues of the district. On the Ala-shehr-Kara-hissar extension the Government guarantees a revenue of 1,196*l.* per mile. There does not seem to be much prospect of the extension paying on its own merits, as it has to compete for its traffic both with the Anatolian and with the Aidin railways.

By far the most prosperous of the three great Anatolian lines is the Aidin or Ottoman Railway Company. The line was opened in 1866, and, though not very successful for many years, has been progressing steadily ever since 1879, pushing gradually up the valley of the Maeander as trade developed, sending branch lines up fertile side valleys, and finally reaching Dincir at the head waters of the river, a total mileage of 321 miles. The line is not guaranteed in any way. It is admirably managed, and has done an enormous amount to enrich Smyrna and the whole vilayet of Aidin, without inflicting any burden on the Turkish taxpayer. The line is much better laid than that of the other companies, and its trains are much faster than any that can be found east of Belgrade, including the famed Orient Express, which in the Balkans, at least, runs over one of the worst laid and slowest lines in existence. It is a not uninteresting fact that the Aidin Railway was the first to abolish second-class fares. But, unfortunately, the company is English. The result is that for many years past

its attempts to continue its natural developement have met with an absolute refusal on the part of the Sultan, to which the lukewarm protests of the British Embassy made no difference whatsoever. The Aidin Railway follows what from Persian times onwards has always been the great trade route of Anatolia, the only route, too, which offers no serious engineering difficulties in the ascent from the river valley to the central plateau. Long ago the Aidin Company offered to extend its line eastwards to Konia, as well as to build a branch northwards to Afium Kara-hissar and Kutaya to join the Anatolian Railway, *without any guarantee*. The offer was refused and the concession given to the heavily guaranteed Anatolian Railway, which even up to the present has not succeeded in diverting to Constantinople the Konia traffic, most of which still goes on camels down to Dineir. Since then the Aidin Railway has in vain requested permission to extend from Dineir up to Chai, where it could join the Anatolian system. This the Sultan has refused likewise, and not unnaturally, for the traffic over the Anatolian section from Chai to Kara-hissar, such as it is, would then cease altogether, and he himself would have to make up the deficit. The Sultan actually wanted to give a concession for this section to the German Company, which would simply have used it to block the way against the Konia trade. But at this the British Foreign Office drew the line, and the concession was withheld.

The following table gives the traffic receipts of the three lines for the years ending June 30, 1896, 1897, and 1898:--

	Miles.	1896	1897	1898
Anatolian Railway		£	£	£
Main line	361	165,786	397,775	348,333
Konia branch	275	39,909	118,265	120,218
Smyrna-Kasaba				
Smyrna-Ala-shehr	165	156,136	—	—
Plus extension to Kara-				
hissar	325	—	158,191	183,522
Aidin Railway	321	315,199	351,971	334,305

With regard to these figures it is necessary to point out that the enormous increase of the Anatolian receipts in 1897-98 was largely due to the transport of troops and materials in connexion with the Greek war, and the sub-

sequent evacuation of Thessaly, which did not affect the two Smyrna lines. On the other hand, the 1896-7 figures for the Konia branch of the Anatolian Railway and the 1897-8 figures of the Kassaba Railway are for as much of the line as was in working during these years. For last year the Anatolian Railway received 179,580*l.* in government subsidy, mostly on the Konia branch, while the claim of the Karahissar extension of the Kassaba line will have amounted to about 140,000*l.* Owing to the drought in the autumn of last year, and the excessive cold of last winter, the earnings of the past half year have been only 118,697*l.*, or barely two-thirds of the average; but this summer's crops promise to do well, so that there will be a recovery in the receipts for 1900. But as long as the company is denied its natural extension into the interior of the country there is no room for rapid progress in its profits.

The only other lines in Asia Minor are the Brusa-Mudania railway—once English and now French—26½ miles long, connecting Brusa with an open roadstead on the Sea of Marmora, running through olive and mulberry orchards, and the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana line, 41¾ miles, across the fertile but malarious Cilician plain. In Syria there is the narrow-gauge Beirut-Damascus-Hauran railway, 140 miles long, which runs from Beirut to Damascus, over Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon by the help of a central rack-rail, and from Damascus southwards to Mezerib in the Hauran, tapping a rich corn-growing district, and the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, 52 miles, both brought into prominence last autumn by the German Emperor's visit.

The projects for new lines are almost innumerable, the most important being those intended ultimately to form the express route to Persia and India. The Anatolian Company hopes to continue its line from Angora to Kaisariéh, and thence *via* Diarbekir and Mosul to Baghdad. From Baghdad the line might go down to the Persian Gulf, and along the coast of Persia and Beluchistan, or more probably along the great pilgrim and caravan route from Baghdad to Teheran, crossing the Persian frontier at Khaunikin, with a branch at Kirmanshah, going to India *via* Isfahan and Yezd. An alternative route from Kaisariéh to Baghdad, *via* Marash, Aintab, and Birejik on the Euphrates, and thence down the Euphrates Valley or across to Mosul, has also been suggested. This line would be met at Birejik by the Beirut line, which is to be extended at a guarantee of 800*l.* per mile from Damascus by Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Another

proposal is to continue the Eski-shehr-Konia line over Mount Taurus to Adana, and thence through Marash to Birejik. This, both from the commercial and the engineering point of view, is probably the worst of the routes suggested. The short Euphrates Valley routes, starting from Alexandretta or Latakia, though offering no great difficulties, would probably not attract sufficient trade to make them pay, while the really fast overland mail must necessarily in future go over Constantinople. Moreover, from the Sultan's point of view, such lines would have no military value. Abdul Hamid naturally favours the Kaisarieh-Baghdad schemes, and would, if possible, also get a branch line built to Erzingian, the great military centre of Eastern Anatolia, perhaps continuing it to Erzerum, another important strategical point. But whatever route is chosen, there must be some reasonable prospect of its paying, and that prospect is not very immediate. In course of time, perhaps, political reasons, not unlike those which have caused combined railway action in China, may cause England and Germany to combine and support a railway scheme under joint protection.* Of this great undertaking the control of the Western or Anatolian portion would naturally fall to Germany, while that of the Mesopotamian and Persian sections would fall to England, whose military and naval base is in India and the Persian Gulf. But that will be the opening of an entirely new chapter in the history of Western Asia.

* Since the above review was written Mr. Rhodes's visit to Berlin has brought German co-operation with England in the building of a great African railway into the field of practical politics. The arguments for co-operation in Asiatic Turkey are no less cogent than those for co-operation in Africa. At any rate it is desirable that the Aidin and Anatolian railway companies should come to some working agreement as soon as possible. A most important proposal has just been made by the latter company practically involving amalgamation of the two systems. It has been brought forward with characteristic 'smartness' at a moment when the complete failure of the autumn harvest has landed the Aidin company in a serious, though only temporary, financial difficulty. In its present form the proposal looks too much like an absorption of the English company in the German. But perhaps a more equal arrangement may be arrived at subsequently if government support and a better season give the Aidin company a better footing for negotiations.

ART. XI.—*The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846–1891.*

By R. BARRY O'BRIEN, Barrister-at-law. Author of 'Fifty Years of Concession to Ireland.' 2 vols. London: 1898.

IN this country, whenever a great statesman or an influential public man dies, there is a general desire on all sides to judge his actions generously; and even the keenest political opponents, when once political strife is at an end, are often ready to admit that high aims and noble motives may have influenced the man against whom they fiercely strove, and whom they feel that in his lifetime they may have too harshly judged. Thus many a convinced Unionist will have turned to Mr. Barry O'Brien's volumes, not certainly in the expectation of finding in them any new arguments to mitigate in his eyes the objections to the policy of Home Rule; yet with the hope of discovering that the man who wielded so much power over his countrymen, and who played so influential a part on the stage of British politics, whilst utterly mistaken, was yet impelled by a worthy ambition of serving his country, and at least truly believed himself that he saw his way by means of constitutional rearrangements ultimately to bind together Englishmen and Irishmen in a 'union of hearts.' Men turn to the 'Life of Parnell' in order to find out what that remarkable man has to say for himself, or at least to learn what his intimate friends and admirers, looking at public affairs from his own standpoint, have to say on his behalf.

Mr. O'Brien has drawn a striking, and we think, on the whole, a fairly accurate picture of the man; none the less interesting and striking that it is pre-eminently the portrait of the Irish leader as he appeared to the band of devoted followers whom he commanded in the House of Commons. The portrait emphasises those features of his character by which evidently his countrymen, and his parliamentary followers especially, were mostly impressed. No Englishman could have felt as they did the full force that belonged to his coldly impassive reserve, to his contempt for rhetoric, to the habitual aloofness of his behaviour. Mr. Parnell was a good-looking man, and his bearing was always unmistakably that of a gentleman. But appreciation of this kind falls far short of the enthusiastic personal admiration with which his followers regarded him. When, for instance, Mr. Parnell, with great condescension, attends the wedding

of a friend at Clapham, he is described as dashing up to the church door in a carriage and pair 'dressed magnificently, 'and looking so handsome and dignified.' Every one uncovers as 'with the air of an emperor' he descends from the carriage. And we are told how the great man attends the service, and is even attentive to it—how he ultimately signs the register and lunches with the happy pair! It was with the wave of a hand 'looking like a king' that in 1880 he had bidden farewell to New York. Indeed, Parnell appears never to have treated with other men quite on an equal footing. Even with his Irish colleagues in the House of Commons it was constantly remarked at the time by lookers-on how 'stand off' in social relations his intercourse used to be. Many English Liberals in those early days would fain have cultivated him, but were rebuffed. 'He 'would have nothing to do with us,' said Sir Charles Dilke. 'He acted like a foreigner. We could not get at him as at 'any other man in English public life.' In the eyes of his warm-hearted and imaginative countrymen the undemonstrative, reserved, determined man, who always kept his own counsel, who hated rhetoric and speechmaking, but who always knew what to do in a crisis; whom no denunciations could intimidate, and whom no prosecutions or imprisonments could drive an inch out of his course—a man in temperament as in blood English and not Celtic—became clothed with the qualities of a hero, whilst to Englishmen down to the day of his death he remained an enigma.

Charles Stewart Parnell was a member of a distinguished family long settled in Ireland. Its founder was Thomas Parnell, a mercer and draper in the time of James I., who became Mayor of Congleton in Cheshire. His son, a staunch Cromwellian and a friend of Bradshaw, followed in his father's footsteps, and three times won the same civic dignity. Thomas Parnell, of the third generation, left England for Ireland soon after the Restoration, and, buying an estate there, became the father of the poet and the ancestor of several distinguished men, amongst whom Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Grattan's Parliament, and his son, Sir Henry Parnell, who nearly forty years after the union represented an Irish seat in the House of Commons, became a member of the Grey and the Melbourne Ministries, and ultimately was made Lord Congleton, are the best known.

It was probably from his mother's side rather than his father's that Charles Parnell derived the principal political

impulse of his life. It was not altogether unnatural that the daughter of a distinguished American sailor, Admiral Stewart, who had fought the British in the war of 1812-1814, should have maintained a life-long dislike of England. But 1896 was a long time after the peace of 1814; and old Mrs. Parnell's language to Mr. Barry O'Brien only three years ago surely shows an unusual tenacity of hate. America had thrown off English rule: Ireland should follow her example. This was her constant thought. 'The English are hated in America,' she said, 'for their grasping policy; they are hated everywhere for their arrogance, greed, cant, and hypocrisy. No country must have national rights or national aspirations but England. That is the English creed. Well! other people don't see it; and the English are astonished. They want us all to think they are so goody goody. They are simply thieves.'

Parnell's education was entirely an English one, beginning at six years old with a boarding school in Somersetshire. He went later to schools in Derbyshire and Oxfordshire, always spending his holidays at Avondale, his home in Ireland near the famous Vale of Avoca. In October 1865, when nineteen years of age, he went to Magdalene, Cambridge. In boyhood he is described by his brother and sister as having been distinguished for a keen sense of justice and a hatred of oppression. The lady who nursed him through a fever when a child of eight years old, speaks of him as quick and interesting to teach, but already very reserved, and therefore not a great favourite with his companions; and it is clear that during his boyhood and youth, whether at school or college, he did not get on well either with his fellows or his teachers. At school, we read that he was idle, quarrelling with the masters, disliking his fellow pupils, and being disliked by them. His old school-fellows liked his brother John as a good genial fellow, but they did not like Charles. 'He was arrogant and aggressive, and he tried to sit on us, and we tried to sit on him.' Charles himself cordially hated his school and college life in England. 'These English,' he used to say to John, 'despise us because we are Irish; but we must stand up to them,' as if it ever entered the head of any English schoolboy or Cambridge undergraduate to dislike his companion because he came from Ireland! When his college days were over, his overbearing and quarrelsome nature made him as little liked amongst Irish cricketers in Wicklow as amongst his companions in England. For books or for

reading of any kind he never cared. Indeed, his family narrate that the only book in which they ever saw him take any interest was Youatt's 'The Horse.'

The execution of the so-called Manchester martyrs stirred him deeply, and increased his aversion to England; but at that time he talked politics very little, though he 'brooded 'a great deal.' In 1870 he went to America for a year on a visit to his brother, who had settled in Alabama. In the United States, as in England, Parnell was ever haunted with the feeling that he was despised because he was an Irishman, and the violent quarrelsome temper of his youthful years was as marked during his stay in America as in England or Ireland.

In 1872 Parnell settled with his brother John at Avondale. The following year he became a member of the Synod of the Disestablished Church, but took apparently little interest in general politics till Mr. Gladstone's sudden dissolution in February 1874 plunged the three kingdoms into the turmoil of a general election. Mr. Butt's project of Home Rule, involving the establishment of an Irish Parliament composed of the lords and commons of Ireland, sitting in College Green, whilst the Parliament of Westminster remained unchanged, had been solemnly promulgated a couple of years earlier, and Parnell would have stood for Wicklow at the General Election as a supporter of Home Rule had he not been disqualified by being that year High Sheriff of the county. Very shortly afterwards a vacancy occurred in the county of Dublin, on the acceptance of office by Colonel Taylor. Parnell was run by Mr. Butt and the Home Rule League, but Colonel Taylor was re-elected; and it was not till the spring of 1875 that the future Home Rule leader entered Parliament as member for Meath at the age of twenty-nine.

It was not without some natural suspicion that the Home Rule League had accepted Parnell as one of their band in the contest for County Dublin. He was an Irish Protestant landlord, of Whig extraction, and he had means of his own—all points in his favour, we are told; but he was unknown to the public as well as to most of the Home Rule leaders; whilst the two or three among them who had met him had been mainly impressed by his reserve, his utter ignorance of political affairs, and his apparent want of all political faculty. Nevertheless this unknown, ungenial, reserved, ignorant country gentleman—for such he is described to us in the pages of Mr. O'Brien—carried 'Royal Meath' in a perfect

storm of popular enthusiasm, and on April 22, 1875, he took his seat in the House of Commons, and the public career of a very remarkable man began.

The secret of Parnell's electioneering success is very frankly put before us by his biographer. There was one matter which *did* interest him, one passionate feeling which dominated his whole being. His entire stock of information about Ireland was limited to the history of the Manchester martyrs.* He could talk of them as he could talk of nothing else. The cry for amnesty, the bitter denunciation of England for her cruelty in executing men who, in pursuance of a noble ideal, had been fighting for their country, rallied in his support Fenians, Home Rulers, and multitudes of honest ignorant men who knew nothing of the facts beyond what agitators and demagogues chose to tell them. Mr. O'Brien makes no secret throughout his two most interesting volumes of the melancholy fact that Parnell's power in Ireland was due, not to genius, not to high character, not to lofty aspiration, but to the implicit confidence of Irishmen in his implacable enmity to England. Irish patriotism with Parnell meant hostility to England. The war was to be carried on with the means and weapons which the circumstances of the time rendered most suitable. It was Fenian folly to think that as yet the national independence of Ireland could be won in the field, or by open violence, or even by secret crime; but the end at which Fenians aimed was a great and glorious one. Theirs was the patriotism which he himself had learnt at his mother's knee—Ireland a nation.

When Parnell entered Parliament the Home Rulers were led by Mr. Butt, a genial and popular Irishman, of a type utterly unlike Parnell. Butt believed, first, that a federal system of government was the best suited to the needs of

* The so-called Manchester martyrs were three men executed in November 1867, for the murder of police-sergeant Brett. The circumstances were as follows: An organised attempt was made by a large party of men, armed with revolvers, to rescue two Fenian prisoners from a prison-van in broad daylight. The van was stopped by a number of shots fired at the driver and the horses. Both horses were killed; Brett, who was sitting inside the van, was shot dead, whilst two other constables and another man received bullet wounds. Some thirty shots in all are said to have been fired at the police, who were without firearms. The friends of the accused have always urged that there was no intention to kill Brett; and that the fatal shot was fired merely in order to force the lock of the van.

Great Britain and Ireland; and secondly, that it might be brought about by constitutional means. His popularity in Ireland was due to his exertions as counsel on behalf of the Fenian prisoners, his deep sympathy for their fate, and the efforts that he made in the cause of amnesty. For Fenian objects he possessed no love whatever; and he strove honestly and in a constitutional fashion, according to his lights, for a policy which he believed would reconcile Englishmen and Irishmen, and so promote the interest and happiness of the three kingdoms. Between the two extremes of the Home Rule party—viz. Butt and the constitutional Home Rulers on the one side, and the Fenians on the other—stood Parnell. Butt was revolted by the outrageous conduct in the House of Commons of Joseph Biggar—conduct pursued for the express purpose of bringing discredit upon that assembly. Biggar was a Fenian, and a member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood; and ‘he came to the British Parliament to see how much harm he could do to the British Empire.’*

Mr. Barry O’Brien describes him admirably in the following paragraph:

‘Biggar had no respect for the House of Commons; he had no respect for any English institution. Of course he had no oratorical faculty, no literary gifts; indeed, he could hardly speak three consecutive sentences. He had little political knowledge, he despised books and the readers of books; but he was shrewd and businesslike without manners and without fear. He regarded parliamentary rules as all “rot,” delighted in shocking the House, and gloried in causing general confusion. He had but two ideas—to rasp the House of Commons and to make himself thoroughly hated by the British public.’

Mr. Butt and the more moderate section of Irish Home Rulers felt for men and for tactics such as these a very natural contempt. But in the eyes of Parnell the moderate men had failed, and would continue to fail, so long as they placed their main reliance upon parliamentary methods of procedure. Mr. Biggar was the very man for him. Parnell had no belief in parliamentarians, but he placed his faith in forces outside Parliament

‘which he determined to influence and by whose help he hoped to dominate the Parliamentary army. From the moment he first thought seriously of politics he saw, as if by instinct, that Fenianism was the key of Irish nationality; and if he could or would not have the key in his

hand he was certainly resolved never to let it out of his sight. We shall therefore see him, as the years roll by, standing on the verge of treason-felony, but with marvellous dexterity always preventing himself from slipping over. Perhaps this was the secret of his power.' (Vol. i. p. 87.)

Parnell first won the confidence of the Fenians by the warmth of the language he used in defending the memory of the Manchester martyrs, and he kept it by the intensity of the hostility which he always manifested to England. A year of the House of Commons brought him into accord with the Fenian doctrine that parliamentaryism and constitutionalism would never win Home Rule. Butt was a man of peace, and was useless; the Fenians were the fighting force who would win the battle, but not he thought by pursuing their old tactics. 'Biggar was Parnell's ideal of an Irish member—a political Ishmael, who would not conciliate, and 'who could not be conciliated,' and Biggar very naturally, therefore, became Parnell's first lieutenant. Before Parnell had been three years in Parliament the relations between him and Butt had become greatly strained. The latter did not attempt to conceal his disgust at the proceedings at which Biggar was an adept, and which had for their object the paralysing and degradation of the House of Commons. Most of the Home Rule members agreed with Butt. The Fenians, of course, supported Parnell, and in 1877 it was their action which replaced Butt by Parnell as Chairman of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain. Indeed, it appears that this League was controlled by Fenians, though, of course, it was necessary in England to keep this fact as much as possible out of sight. An anonymous informant of Mr. Barry O'Brien gives a graphic account of the 'turning point of Parnell's career'—the rejection of Butt and the choice of the new leader. Personally men had liked the kindly genial father of the Home Rule movement whom they now discarded; but they felt that in the work they wished done Parnell was undoubtedly the man for them. Butt was always full of sympathy and kindly friendship for his colleagues. But

'Parnell sat at the meeting like a bit of granite. No one could help feeling he was the man to fight the English: he was so like themselves, cool, callous, inexorable, always going straight to the point, and not caring much how he got there so long as he did get there. There was one thing about Parnell on which the Fenians believed they could rely, his hatred of England. They felt that would last for ever,' (Vol. i. p. 116.)

In 1878 Parnell, notwithstanding his undeniable possession of this first of virtues in Fenian eyes, had considerable difficulty with many of the leaders of the Fenian conspiracy both in England and America. The Fenian rank and file were on the whole more ready than some of the leading spirits to put absolute trust in a movement which, externally at all events, was a parliamentary and constitutional one. The older Fenians disliked any connection whatever with parliamentarians. These men did not like to see Fenians members of Parliament, and they held the honourable doctrine that the oath of allegiance to the Queen and of the Irish Republican Brotherhood were incompatible. They held that Fenians should be physical-force men; they should keep alive the spirit of Irish nationality and of Irish hatred to England; they should drill and prepare, and when an occasion of English difficulty or disaster should occur they should take advantage of it, and like men win national independence by successful insurrection at the point of the sword.

How could Parnell avail himself of the zeal of such unpractical enthusiasts? He believed profoundly, we are now told by his honest admirers *—and no one at all acquainted with his career ever doubted it—in Fenian help. Mr. O'Brien says truly that Parnell was working for an alliance between Constitutionalists and Fenians, and that he meant to master the alliance. But for what ultimate purpose was this alliance to be used? 'A true revolutionary movement in Ireland should,' Parnell said publicly himself, 'in his opinion partake both of a constitutional and illegal character. It should be both an open and a secret organisation, using the constitution for its own purposes, but also taking advantage of its secret combination.'† With the bulk of the Fenians in England, as with the bulk of the Fenians in America, Parnell prevailed. John Devoy became in America the principal advocate of the new policy with the infamous conspiracy of the Clan-na-Gael. Agrarian reform or revolution was to be advocated in Ireland with the object of enlisting the farmers in a national movement. The avowed object of those who advocated and brought about the 'new departure' was, in their own words, 'to widen the field of revolutionary effort.' Devoy had come to Ireland on behalf of the Clan-na-Gael to assist the pre-

* Vol. i. p. 160.

† Ibid.

paration of the revolutionary struggle, and to arrange for the supply of a large quantity of rifles to Irish Fenians, who were farmers' sons. Devoy is as explicit as Parnell. He did not, he said, wish to come into conflict with the law. He would not prescribe the form of Home Rule demanded. It was important that Fenians and Constitutionalists should make common cause, 'and as Home Rulers, Repealers, and 'Nationalists all ~~call~~ the form of government they desire "self-government," and as, in addition, they all agree 'substantially as to the present needs of Ireland, there 'should be nothing to prevent them agreeing on a common 'platform, which would bind them together for the 'common good of the country until the country itself should 'speak in such a manner as to command the allegiance of 'all.' *

Mr. Barry O'Brien is perfectly frank here, as everywhere else, in describing the aims and methods of Devoy, and of the 'New Departure.' Devoy, he tells us, never believed in Home Rule, and he wished

'to make agrarian reform the stepping-stone to separation from England. He did not wish to raise the separatist flag publicly. He suggested that the limits of National Independence should not be defined. Let self-government, and self-government only, be demanded. Then the Fenians could co-operate cordially with Constitutionalists. Each section could put its own construction on the meaning of the words.' (Vol. i. p. 168.)

Many of the official Fenians held aloof from the new departure, but the bulk of them in Ireland, England, and America were swept into the movement. As distinguished from Butt, 'Parnell was,' says Mr. O'Brien, 'a revolutionist 'working with constitutional weapons . . . and Parnell 'became the greatest figure in the House of Commons in 'his day, with a single exception.'† Not once, but again and again, Parnell declared that the object before him was 'National Independence.' In 1879 the foundation of the Land League, with Parnell as president, with Biggar and Patrick Egan as treasurers, and with its governing body mainly Fenian, was the significant first step of the 'New 'Departure;' and at the end of the year Parnell, with Mr. Dillon, left for America to gain funds for the League and

* John Devoy's letter to the 'Freeman's Journal,' December 11, 1878, quoted in Report of the Special Commission.

† Vol. i. p. 183.

to consolidate the union between Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic.

Parnell was summoned back from America by the sudden dissolution of 1880. He was at once chosen parliamentary leader by the newly returned Home Rule members, defeating Mr. Shaw by a small majority; he was heartily backed by Irish Home Rule opinion in England and Ireland; he had the help of American money, and he was gradually winning the support, if not altogether the confidence, of the two great forces of Irish agitation—the Church and the Fenians. So far, therefore, he was in a position to play that game by which he always asserted that his objects might be won. But, again, we ask what *were* his objects? Was he trying to enlist the Fenians under his flag in order to moderate their fierce enthusiasm, and to turn them into constitutional reformers? Was his language to Irishmen, again and again repeated, in which he urged them to throw off every connexion with Great Britain, merely *calculated* exaggeration, by which he wished to enlist Fenians that he might afterwards convert them to more moderate counsels? When Parnell in America declared that his great end was to establish Ireland ‘amongst the nations of the earth;’ when he urged his hearers never to forget that that was the ultimate goal of all of them, however they might differ as to the means of attaining it; and when he declared that none of them would ever rest till ‘they had destroyed the ‘last link which keeps Ireland bound to England’—was this all frothy rhetoric, or did his words indicate his real meaning? Parnell was no rhetorician, and no man was ever less likely to be carried away by his own or other men’s platform eloquence. His political opponents, not less than his followers, fully believed that he really meant what he said; but, of course, on such a point the greatest weight attaches to the opinion of his intimate friends. Now Mr. Barry O’Brien reminds us* that, however much Mr. Parnell and the Clan-na-Gael differed as to the *modus operandi*, they had one thing in common—‘they both hated England;’ and he goes on to say that ‘he would be doing scant justice to Parnell to suggest for an instant that these ‘speeches were made merely for the purpose of conciliating ‘the Clan-na-Gael. Far from it. In what he said he ‘spoke the faith that was in him.’

In Ireland, whilst addressing farmers, he often dealt

almost exclusively with the land question; but, as we have seen, in Parnell's eyes the chief value of the land agitation consisted in its being a means by which the goal of complete separation from Great Britain was to be won. It was at Galway, in the autumn of 1880, that he declared that he 'would not have taken off his coat' to work at land reform had he not believed that in this way he was laying the foundation for 'legislative independence.' On this subject the judgement of Mr. Barry O'Brien is more severe against Parnell than the cautious finding of the judges of the Special Commission. They, indeed, held it proved that the Land League was established not to restrain the revolutionary movement, but to bring Home Rulers of all kinds and Fenians into close alliance; and that Mr. Davitt, and several Irish members of Parliament (not including Parnell), had established and joined the Land League in order to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation.* Parnell, the judges found, had 'adopted' the Land League, and the assistance of the revolutionaries both in England and Ireland had been secured; but the charge that Parnell himself had conspired to bring about total separation they held was not established.

In the Parliament of 1880 a majority of Irish members, some sixty in number, were in favour of Home Rule, and of these twenty-three had voted for Parnell as their parliamentary leader. It was Parnell's policy to build up a strong National party in the House of Commons absolutely independent of the Liberal and Conservative parties, and having as little intercourse as possible with British party leaders and managers. Accordingly, they sat always in the same quarter of the House, below the gangway on the Opposition side, whatever Government was in power; whilst the moderate Home Rulers, under the leadership of Mr. Shaw, sat on the Government side and considered themselves as Home Rule Liberals, who were prepared in general politics to give their support to Mr. Gladstone. Parnell always greatly dreaded the corrupting effect of parliamentaryism upon the Nationalist members, and he declared at Limerick in 1880 that no 'permanent reliance' could be put in the Irish party at Westminster; but 'he thought it possible to 'maintain its independence by great exertions and by great 'sacrifices on the part of Irish constituencies, whilst he and 'his friends were making a short, sharp, and decisive

* Report of Special Commission.

‘struggle for the restoration of their legislative independence.’

We do not think Mr. Barry O’Brien sheds much new light upon the history of Parnell during the Parliament of 1880. In the ‘Life of Mr. W. E. Forster,’ in the parliamentary and newspaper records, and in the report of the Special Commission, the whole story has been already fully told. Mr. O’Brien, indeed, is able to contribute some interesting papers bearing on the history of the time, such as the letters from Lord Cowper to Mr. Gladstone during the rule of the former in Ireland; but these, whilst important in their bearing upon the action of British statesmen, do not affect our present subject—viz. the life and work of Parnell. About the state of lawlessness into which Ireland was plunged there can, unfortunately, be no question. The unsuccessful prosecution of Parnell and the leaders of the Land League for conspiracy to prevent the payment of rent only added to his popularity.

The Land League had defeated the law. Landlords and tenants were at bitter strife; and Mr. Gladstone, believing that for the time at least mutual arrangement and free contract between owners and occupiers of land were out of the question, brought forward a measure basing the land system of Ireland on the State fixing of rents. This measure Parnell looked upon with great coldness, abstaining with his whole band from supporting it upon the second reading. The Bill put Mr. Parnell into a great difficulty, says Mr. O’Brien, who, however, does not indicate that Parnell at all troubled himself as to the merits or demerits of the legislation proposed. The difficulty was due to another cause. The Bill in its interference with rights of property was a sweeping, not to say revolutionary, measure. It had astonished the Land Leaguers themselves with the extent of its concessions. The ‘Three F’s,’ which but lately had seemed a foolish dream to British statesmen, were the foundation of the Bill. No wonder that people began to whisper that Parnell would accept it. *This* was his danger. To take the moderate line was to put a weapon into the hands of a clique amongst his own parliamentary following who were very ready to undermine his authority.* Parnell kept his own counsel, and there was much discussion as to what should be done amongst his followers. When the parliamentary party met to consider their course,

* Vol. i. p. 291.

'Parnell, as usual, was not up to time, which gave opportunity to the malcontents to grumble. At length he arrived, walked straight to the chair, of course made no apology for being late, sat down, then rose immediately and said: "Gentlemen, I don't know what your view on this question is. I am against voting for the second reading of the Bill. We have not considered it carefully. We must not make ourselves responsible for it. Of course I do not want to force my views upon any one, but I feel so strongly on the subject that if a majority of the party differ from me I shall resign at once." This was a thunderbolt. It took us all by surprise. The clique who were plotting against Parnell looked perfect fools. He had trumped their card. There was a dead silence. "I now move," said Parnell, "that we do not vote for the second reading." There were some expressions of dissent, but the motion was carried. The whole thing was done in less than an hour. Parnell neither then nor at any other time discussed the question with us.' *

It must be remembered that Parnell's greatest efforts during the Parliament 1880-1885 were not so much directly to bring about Home Rule, which then seemed to most people outside the sphere of practical politics, as to forge the instrument by which his ultimate end was to be achieved. The instrument was to be an independent and united Nationalist Parliamentary party, entirely independent of the two great parties which had hitherto divided the United Kingdom. His party was to be based on hostility to the British connexion, and on the frank denial that the Parliament of the United Kingdom had any moral right to govern Ireland. The Union had been obtained by force and fraud. Englishmen and Scotchmen were foreigners, who delighted in oppressing and degrading and robbing Irishmen. Mr. Forster first of all, and afterwards Lord Spencer, were reviled by Mr. Parnell's band as the bloodthirsty exponents of a policy of tyranny and extermination, as statesmen to whom the shooting, execution, and imprisonment of Irishmen, whom they knew to be innocent, was a happiness and delight. So far as they dared, the Irish parliamentary party were at war with the Government of the United Kingdom. The Judges of the Parnell Commission in their cautious and impartial report declared that

'that they had invited and received assistance and accepted subscriptions of money from Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, but that it was not proved that they knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League, or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund. It had, however, been proved that the

respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force Party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and, in order to obtain that assistance, abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party.'

The infamous dynamite organ of Patrick Ford, the 'Irish World,' published in America, was disseminated by the Land League in Ireland for free distribution. In its columns the scoundrels of the 'Skirmishing Fund' urged the wholesale destruction of British cities, and the commission of dynamite outrages. By its means they asked for and obtained subscriptions to further their anarchical schemes. Indeed, it was only on this side of the Atlantic that extreme Irish Nationalists took any pains to pretend that they were a constitutional party urging a reform of institutions which would bring about a happy reconciliation between two hitherto estranged nations.

The Land Bill of 1881 had, as we have seen, caused some little anxiety to Parnell. Its introduction had immediately followed the passage into law of Mr. Forster's Coercion Act. The Irish Government had found itself with the means at its disposal quite unable to secure the due enforcement of the law, always the first duty of every government. Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper had again and again represented the anarchical condition of affairs in Ireland, and the paralysis of constitutional authority, before the ever-growing power of the Land League. They had repeatedly urged in the strongest language upon the Prime Minister the necessity of trusting them with additional powers, but Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet was divided, and it was not till public opinion in England became irresistible that the Prime Minister could bring himself to follow the counsel of his Irish advisers and strengthen the powers of the Irish executive. The Coercion Bill of 1881 was an ill-conceived measure, and though it is very probable that it prevented the perpetration of a large amount of individual crime, and saved many innocent lives, it completely failed to restore authority to the Irish executive and to reassert the supremacy of law. The introduction of this Bill in the House of Commons suited Parnell's purpose of consolidating his party far better than 'remedial measures.' He and his followers used and abused every form of the House to prevent its passing. They were suspended often individually, sometimes 'en bloc,' and thus figured, as they wished to figure, not as the mere opponents of a particular policy, but rather as the irreconcilable foes of Parliament

itself. Had the resistance of the Nationalist party been mere violent opposition to a particular measure or a particular policy, great allowance might have been made, and would have been made, for almost any parliamentary extravagances. But no attempt was made to conceal the fact that the efforts of the parliamentary party went much further than this. It was their object to break down altogether the parliamentary machine by which the United Kingdom was governed. They were to obtain their ends not by persuading Parliament and the country, but by force. It was therefore only natural that they should have stood alone, and that Liberals and Conservatives alike should have striven side by side to uphold the cause of parliamentary government. This, however, was exactly what suited Parnell's game. He was, if we consider facts rather than words, *at war*, so far as his means permitted him. His great end, as we have seen, was a separate and independent Ireland; his instrument the National parliamentary party, which was to destroy parliamentary government at Westminster, if he did not have his way.

It was the 'remedial,' not the 'coercion,' measure which brought to its sharpest pitch the controversy between Mr. Gladstone and Parnell. The former was sincerely convinced that his Land Act would put an end completely and for ever to the grievances and disaffection of Irishmen. He was therefore inexpressibly vexed that Parnell and the Land League were evidently going to play against this beneficent measure the game they had been so long playing against Parliament itself. They would paralyse it, in short; if they were not able to get the practical administration of it into their own hands. A great Convention of the Land League sat for three days in Dublin, over which Parnell presided. Some wanted to repudiate the new Act altogether, others that the tenants should freely use it, whilst Parnell made up his own mind to control it, and in this resolution carried the Convention with him. Once more his American allies disliked Parnell's moderate course, and it was, according to Mr. Barry O'Brien, his fear of displeasing the American Land League that 'forced him' to send them a telegram explaining the action of the Convention. 'Resolutions have been 'adopted,' so ran the message,' 'for national self-government, the unconditional liberation of the land for the 'people, tenants not to use the rent-fixing clauses of the 'Land Act, and follow old Land League lines, and rely on 'old methods to reach justice. The Executive of the

‘League is empowered to select test cases in order that ‘tenants in surrounding districts may realise by result of ‘cases decided the hollowness of the Act.’

Parnell’s object was to prevent any member of the Land League applying to the Land Court to have his rent fixed without the permission of his branch of the League. Mr. Gladstone denounced Parnell as preaching doctrines of public plunder, and in the middle of October Parnell was quietly arrested under the Coercion Act and sent to confinement in Kilmainham. The ‘No Rent Manifesto’ was the Parnellite reply to the action of the Government. We are dealing with Parnell’s life and not with the history of the land agitation, and there can be little doubt that both Parnell’s arrest and imprisonment and his subsequent release produced little or no effect in weakening his hold upon the Irish people. Parnell was in gaol as ‘a suspect.’ He was an untried man, and therefore he and his fellow suspects were rightly treated as persons whom it was necessary to detain in the public interest, not as prisoners whom it was intended to punish. Kilmainham seems to have been comfortable enough, and Parnell and his fellow ‘suspects’ had ample opportunity of laying their plans and concerting their future course. The release of Parnell in May 1882, and the consequent resignations of Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper, were naturally regarded as a triumph of the Land League and Nationalist Party over the authorities with whom they had so long contended. Of the so-called ‘Treaty of Kilmainham’ little need be said here, for whatever view may be taken of the negotiations which led up to Parnell’s release as they affect the reputation of English statesmen, Parnell’s conduct in the business was in no way open to censure. His letter from Kilmainham to Captain O’Shea was written in a most conciliatory spirit. It proposed certain amendments to the Land Act, and some compromise on the difficult question of arrears, and it promised every exertion on the part of Parnell himself and his colleagues to suppress outrage and intimidation. When Captain O’Shea read this letter in the House of Commons he suppressed its last paragraph, an omission rectified on the spot by Mr. Forster, who, amidst a scene of intense excitement, read out a complete copy of Parnell’s letter. This omitted paragraph ran as follows:—

‘The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would, I feel sure, enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal

principles; so that the Government at the end of the Session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with further coercive measures.'

Now, it is important to observe how Parnell's action as a whole had been considered by Mr. Gladstone. The Prime Minister saw, of course, clearly enough the ultimate end for which Parnell was working, and recognised the absolute ascendancy he had obtained by means of boycotting and intimidation over his deluded countrymen, and he had asked for the support of loyal men throughout the three kingdoms to bring this triumph over all law to an end. In later days Mr. Gladstone's words at Knowsley on October 27, 1881, were often called to mind. 'It was idle to talk,' said the leader of the Liberal party, 'of law, or order, or liberty, or religion, or civilisation, if Mr. Parnell's friends were to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes they had devised. Rapine was their first, but not their only object, for they wished to march through rapine to the dismemberment and disintegration of the empire.'

This having been Mr. Gladstone's opinion of Parnellite methods and objects, it was with sincere delight that he read the famous letter of April 1882 from Parnell at Kilmainham to Captain O'Shea. The Land Act with a few amendments would after all, as Mr. Gladstone had always declared, put an end to Irish troubles, and Parnell, the anarchist and the separatist, would amend his ways and would become in the future a good Liberal. In this sanguine spirit did Mr. Gladstone receive Captain O'Shea's help. Mr. Forster thought very little good would come out of these negotiations, but Mr. Gladstone was 'greatly gratified.' As to the future Liberalism of the Irish leader, the Prime Minister wrote to Mr. Forster: 'This is a *hors d'œuvre* which we had no right to expect, and I rather think have no right at present to accept,' and greatly did he feel 'indebted to Captain O'Shea.*' On May 4, as Mr. Forster was explaining the reasons of his resignation, Parnell walked into the House of Commons once more a free man; and assuredly the triumph was one at which Mr. Barry O'Brien and every follower of Mr. Parnell had a right to rejoice. 'What a revolution!' the former exclaims, 'Mr. Gladstone and Parnell in the same boat, and Forster flung to the waves.'

What might have resulted from this remarkable change

* Life of Forster, vol. ii. p. 440.

in the position of affairs it is impossible to say. The British public was taken aback, and after what had happened it is not easy to believe that Parliament would have shown itself ready to trust the peace of Ireland and the maintenance of law entirely to the good dispositions of Mr. Parnell and his friends. The murders in the Phoenix Park, on May 6, sanguinary and detestable as they were, were not worse than many assassinations which in the previous two years had been committed with impunity. But from the position of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke these assassinations attracted infinitely more attention in England than those that had preceded them, and vehement partisans did not hesitate to attribute some connexion between the 'Invincibles,' who had carried out the murders, and Mr. Parnell and his colleagues of the Land League. Carey, one of the murderers, was personally known to several of the Irish members and had been proposed by one of them as a member of the Dublin Town Council; and the paid secretary of the English National League was aware of the conspiracy. However, we are happy to think that all suspicions of this nature were entirely swept away by the finding of the Special Commissioners. These murders were indeed a blow of the severest kind to Parnell's policy, and no one now would dream of questioning the entire good faith of the denunciation of the crime in the Phoenix Park which was at once published by Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and Davitt.

The public and Parliament were now quite determined to put down crime and outrage with a strong hand, and once more the Parnellite party was banded together in vigorous resistance to a new Coercion Bill which Mr. Gladstone had brought forward. The Bill passed, and was followed by an Arrears Bill, and the Land League was suppressed. Late in the autumn the National League was founded, under the presidency of Parnell, and 'Home Rule and peasant proprietary' were made the principal planks of the new 'platform.' Parnell at this time, we are told, differed from many of his associates, especially from Messrs. Davitt and Dillon, in desiring to moderate the violence of the land agitation, and once more he ran the risk of offending the extremists by his moderation. He was determined 'to teach the extremists that he was master.' He would take money 'from his American allies,' but he would direct the national movement himself. How was it then that Parnell did not, like Butt, fall a victim to those more

violent in counsel and action than himself? To explain Parnell's authority over his countrymen his biographer has always the same reason to give us. 'Extreme or moderate,' he writes, 'Parnell held his ground, because the Irish "at home and abroad" were convinced—and he took good care under any circumstances never to weaken the conviction—that he was ever the unchanging enemy of England.'

After the passage, in 1882, of Mr. Gladstone's second Coercion Act, Parnell is described as remaining comparatively quiet for nearly a couple of years, and as being really anxious to 'slow down the agitation.' Parnell differed with Mr. Davitt in absolutely repudiating the policy of 'nationalising the land.' The former was no theorist, and knew his countrymen well enough to be aware that there was no general wish to abolish individual ownership, but a very intelligible desire in every one of them to be an 'individual owner' himself. Once more, Parnell's 'moderation' made him run some risk of dissatisfying the most advanced wing of his party, whilst, on the other hand, he had reason to fear that the authority of Rome, worked upon by British influences, might tell against him with the priests and their flocks. His popularity in Ireland was vindicated in the eyes of the world by the presentation to him of some 37,000*l.* in December 1883, raised by the subscriptions of his admirers; and the hopes which some members of the British Government had built upon Roman assistance collapsed. As usual, it was the dissatisfaction of the American Physical Force men of which Parnell stood most in dread. It must be remembered that these years (1883–84) were the years of dynamite plots and explosions in Great Britain, and of the cruel boycotting tyranny, supported by intimidation and outrage, in Ireland. In London the police and the military had to take every precaution to protect life and property. Here and there an additional sentry or policeman might be seen on duty near the public buildings, and more than one of the Ministers was habitually followed by a policeman in plain clothes as a protection; otherwise things looked much as usual, and it is a picturesque exaggeration to say that London looked 'like a town under the sway of some despotic ruler, who feared the vengeance of his people.'* Parnell's biographer cites no public denunciation by his hero of dynamite plotters. Of the

* Vol. ii. p. 29.

boycotting system Parnell was himself the inventor; the success of boycotting depended on crime and intimidation, and it was not likely that any word should fall from him which would weaken him in his contest with the law.

Throughout these sad years Parnell maintained his ascendancy by keeping to his old path, walking, in fact, on the very verge of treason felony. So says Mr. O'Brien. We can well believe with him that Parnell was not in his heart cordial with the Clan-na-Gael, and that, whilst 'in sympathy with the rebellious spirit of the brotherhood,' 'he looked upon the dynamite policy as sheer insanity.' The '*Irish World*' now opposed him, representing him as hanging back from the more vigorous action advocated by Messrs. Davitt and Dillon. The British public judged Parnell unfavourably by reason of his silence; when, so it appeared to them, an honest man in his position was bound to speak out. His biographer had better opportunity than the public of ascertaining Parnell's real thoughts, and this is the way in which he describes them—

'If the Clan could have fitted out a fleet of torpedo boats to blow up the British fleet, Parnell would have offered no objection. That would have been war. But a conspiracy to damage the British Empire by abortive dynamite explosions in the streets of London was the conception of lunatics.' . . . 'What did Parnell think of the morality of dynamite? He did not think about it at all. He regarded the moral sermons preached by English statesmen and publicists as the merest cant, and looked upon the "*Times*" denunciations of the "*Irish World*" as a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Morality was the last thing that the English thought of in their dealings with Ireland. Morality was the last thing he thought of in his dealings with them. There are men who can readily argue themselves into the belief that whatever serves their purpose is moral. Such men could easily explain away the dynamite outrages to their satisfaction. But Parnell's mind was too simple to indulge in the subtleties and refinements necessary for this achievement. He was content to call the dynamitards fools, and to laugh at the moral pretensions of the House of Commons.'

Doubtless, under the circumstances, this simple-minded man was wise to preserve silence in the difficult rivalry between the moralities of the British public and the Clan-na-Gael.

Parnell (his admirers do not for a moment contend that it was otherwise) was never scrupulous about the means he employed. But it is upon his ends, rather than on his means of attaining them, that we wish to fix the attention of our readers. In 1885 he had to contemplate the

new situation which would be created by the approaching General Election on a universal household franchise basis. It was perfectly clear to every statesman, with the possible exception of Mr. Gladstone, that Parnell's following in the House of Commons would be largely increased. Indeed, it was very accurately estimated what that increase would be. Parnell, in January 1885—his period of comparative quiescence at an end—was vehemently demanding the restitution of Grattan's Parliament; he could not, he said, ask for less, nor could he under the British Constitution ask for more; but 'no one had a right to fix the boundary 'of the march of a nation;' so, just as previously under the phrases 'Self-government' and 'Home Rule,' he again took care to emphasise that he was claiming for Ireland, not provisional privileges, not State rights, but the position of a nation amongst the other nations of the earth.

Lord Spencer did his best till the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government to uphold the authority of law and to maintain order in Ireland. Thereby he and his Chief Secretary, Mr. Trevelyan, as a matter of course earned the hearty detestation of the Nationalist party. Parnell's followers held up the Lord Lieutenant and his subordinates at the Castle to public execration; but this time their leader had no chance of drawing distinctions between the conduct of the Irish executive in Dublin and the policy which the Cabinet in London might wish to pursue. Three years before, Parnell had triumphed over Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster, and whilst so doing had made approaches towards a friendly understanding with the Prime Minister. The same course was not open to him now. Never, in truth, had the Liberal and Home Rule parties been in fiercer antagonism than during the régime of the 'Red Earl;' and even had Mr. Gladstone wished to do so, he could not, in the face of British public opinion in 1885, have thrown over the Irish Government. Parnell saw, therefore, that the time was come to make Mr. Gladstone himself feel the force of the weapon which he had so industriously forged. The hour for the Nationalist leader and the independent parliamentary party had come.

Mr. O'Brien describes Parnell's action at this period in the language in which no doubt Parnell would himself have described it—language, be it said, which it is not pleasant for those who respect British statesmen to read. Parnell had a profound disbelief in the virtue of British statesmanship, in the purity of its motives, in its patriotism, in its

wisdom. He knew nothing of English history, past or recent, and his own political life had not brought him into intimate acquaintance with any English statesman. Perhaps it was not unnatural that a shallow cynicism should have made him feel an utter disbelief in the sincerity of our public men. In his eyes English political parties and their leaders were contending merely for place and power. He was aware of course that on both sides of politics every leading statesman had again and again expressed his conviction that the establishment of a separate Irish National Parliament and Executive would be disastrous to both countries. The policy of Home Rule had been for many years before the public, and solemnly and repeatedly had that policy been repudiated by our public men; but this in no degree daunted Parnell, for he did not believe in statesmen as men of political principle, and he knew that he was now in a position greatly to affect their selfish interests and ambitions.

Parnell had, according to his biographer, great hopes of Lord Randolph Churchill, though he felt a natural doubt as to whether that aspiring young statesman, if he should declare for Home Rule, would be able to carry the Conservative party with him. Mr. Chamberlain, Parnell thought, he might perhaps get 'to the verge of Home Rule,' but he was convinced he would get him no further. Mr. Gladstone was above all others the statesman whose assistance he wished to win, and the one 'who he believed would in the 'end outstrip all competitors in the race for the Irish vote.' Thus, says Mr. O'Brien, the course of the Irish leader was perfectly clear. He had to 'threaten Mr. Chamberlain with 'Lord Randolph Churchill, and Mr. Gladstone with both, 'letting the whole world know meanwhile that his weight 'would ultimately be thrown into the scale which went 'down upon the side of Ireland. His first move was against 'the Government. He wished to make the Liberals feel the 'power of the Irish vote. That could be done by beating 'them with the Irish vote.' *

Mr. Gladstone was about to renew certain portions of the Coercion Act, but before the new Bill was introduced Parnell seized the opportunity of an unpopular budget to unite with the Opposition and turn him out of office. Mr. O'Brien's version of history makes everything turn on the action of Parnell, who had at his command some five and

twenty votes. That action no doubt helped to bring about the result. Other causes were, however, at work to undermine the Government of the day, but for which Parnell's twenty-five votes would have been cast against it in vain. The Conservative Government, which succeeded Mr. Gladstone, at once dropped 'coercion,' and Parnell thought that he might reckon on Lord Carnarvon, the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to promote the Home Rule cause. Lord Carnarvon had come to think that, on the whole, the best solution of Irish difficulties might lie in the establishment of some sort of Irish Parliament, and, so thinking, he took the course which, under those circumstances, was natural and wise, of sounding Parnell himself as to what his hopes and intentions really were. A great deal has been said and written as to the interview that took place between Parnell and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It is hardly disputed that Lord Carnarvon listened sympathetically to what Parnell had to say; but it is clear that no sort of ground was given for the assertion made after the general election by Parnell in the House of Commons, and at once categorically denied by Sir Michael Hicks Beach on behalf of himself and his colleagues, viz. that the Conservative party had undertaken, if they obtained a majority, to establish a statutory Parliament in Dublin, which was even to have power to protect Irish industries. It is, however, only fair to Parnell to remember that, from his point of view, it might well have seemed that Mr. Gladstone's successors were really prepared to go further than the Liberal party towards satisfying his demands. The Conservatives had, on taking office, at once dropped the Coercion Act which Mr. Gladstone had passed three years before, and was about to renew. They had reopened inquiry into the Maamtrasna case, and had thereby reflected injuriously on Lord Spencer's government and the Irish judiciary. Lord Randolph Churchill, who had been in intimate relations with Parnellite members, was talking of a 'new departure' in Irish politics, and Lord Salisbury's Lord Lieutenant had been amicably discussing with Parnell the outlines of a Home Rule scheme. Parnell's impressions were not his alone, for many of the Conservative party organs and the independent press generally had taken the alarm; and when the general election came, on almost every platform Liberal candidates vehemently denounced the iniquity of a suspected Tory-Parnellite alliance.

Whatever changes of opinion might take place amongst

Conservatives or Liberals, Parnell, so far as we can see, never, in his public demands or in his ultimate objects, varied in the slightest degree. He had negotiated with Mr. Gladstone in 1882, he had allied himself with Lord Randolph Churchill in order to turn out Mr. Gladstone, in May 1885, and he had talked over Home Rule with Lord Salisbury's Lord Lieutenant in the following June. In the autumn, electioneering in view of the impending dissolution had begun, and Parnell at Dublin, on August 24, declared that the 'Irish platform consisted of only one plank—legislative independence.'* All that they had yet accomplished were, he said, but means to this great end. And in a sanguine spirit he declared that the question was not now whether Ireland was or was not to have her independence, but merely when she was to get it. 'I hope that,' he continued, 'it may not be necessary for us in the new Parliament to devote our attention to subsidiary measures, and that it may be possible for us to have a programme and a platform of only one plank, and that one plank National Independence.'

English statesmen dealt, each in his own way, with this very plain intimation on the part of the Nationalist leader. Lord Hartington rejected it at once as 'a fatal proposal,' Mr. Chamberlain said that to accept it 'would be to abandon all hope of maintaining a United Kingdom,' Lord Randolph Churchill made no allusion to it at all, and Mr. Gladstone, in his election address and in his speeches, used language which has since been interpreted in different ways, but which at the time was understood by English electors as an invitation to support him against Parnell and the policy he represented. Lord Salisbury absolutely repudiated Federalism as a possible basis for the constitution of the United Kingdom, whatever future it might have as regards the empire at large. Parnell's mind was made up. He threw his whole weight in Ireland and Great Britain against Mr. Gladstone, ordering Irish Nationalists everywhere to vote for Conservative candidates, and at length he achieved the position at which he had so long aimed. Parnell returned with eighty-six votes at his back—enough to turn out Lord Salisbury if he (Parnell) allied himself with Mr. Gladstone; enough also, he thought, to keep Mr. Gladstone in power entirely on his own terms.

Mr. Gladstone was placed in office accordingly, and he and

* Vol. ii. p. 97.

such of his old colleagues as he was able to persuade to remain with him accepted the policy of establishing, in the name of Irish Nationality, a separate Parliament and Government in Ireland. This great change in the party situation made, of course, a great change in the position of Parnell. Mr. Gladstone, not Parnell, was now the Home Rule leader, and Parnell wisely left it to him to convert English opinion, whilst he strengthened and consolidated his own authority in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone's method of proceeding was very singular. It would have seemed natural that, having become a convert to Home Rule, and having based his conduct on a desire to grant to Ireland that which Ireland was constitutionally demanding, he should have consulted Parnell himself as to his ideas. Indeed, the right step to have taken, if he placed faith in his own arguments, and really wished to follow the practice of the constitution, would have been to invite Parnell into his Cabinet to share with others the responsibility for the forthcoming measure. The Prime Minister—it is hardly an exaggeration to say it—*consulted* no one, and, as Mr. O'Brien puts it, 'he evolved 'the Home Rule Bill of 1886 out of his inner consciousness.' The acceptance of this Bill was made the test of true Liberalism. As a matter of necessity, independent and responsible men by thousands in every class of the community were forced to throw off their allegiance to their old leader. In the House of Commons which met in January 1886, where Liberals and Nationalists combined had a majority of about 170, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell were defeated on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill by a majority of 30; and the country ratified the action of their representatives by returning in July a new House of Commons in which Unionists exceeded by some 120 the united forces of Nationalists and Home Rule Liberals. In both general elections the Nationalist factor remained constant, and the variation was due simply and solely to the dislike of British Liberals to Home Rule, and to the tactics by which Mr. Gladstone had endeavoured to force it upon them.

Parnell's position was now very different from the one he occupied when his power depended solely upon Irish Nationalists. His language became for a time far more moderate as to the ultimate ends for which he was working. When it became necessary to consider details in Home Rule projects, his view as to what was essential was very simple. He must have

a National Parliament based, of course, on a democratic suffrage, with an executive government dependent upon it, and it must have full control over education, over the police, and over the land. If he got this he would be satisfied—for the time at least—and whether Irish members should or should not sit at Westminster he did not think a vital matter, though he would naturally have preferred their exclusion from the Parliament of the United Kingdom, as signifying the virtual independence of the Dublin Parliament. Parnell was a very practical man. He knew what he was about; when to agitate, and when to sit still.

‘Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell had now changed places. The ex-minister became an agitator, the agitator a circumspect statesman. In England Mr. Gladstone fought the battle of Home Rule earnestly and bravely. He thought of nothing but Ireland, and allowed his followers to think of nothing but Ireland. His speeches were full of fire and energy. Had he been an Irishman, they would have been called violent; perhaps lawless. He had, in truth, caught the spirit of Irish agitation. Had he been born under the shadow of the Galtee mountains, his denunciations of English rule could not have been more racy of the soil.’ (Vol. ii. p. 181.)

This curious exhibition astonished, but failed to captivate, the British people. They could not but admire Mr. Gladstone’s extraordinary pluck and energy, but they had lost, for ever, confidence in his political judgement and wisdom. The last occasion on which Mr. Gladstone obtained a majority in Great Britain was in 1885, when Parnell’s whole weight was thrown against him. As a Home Ruler Mr. Gladstone, in Great Britain, though aided by a very powerful Irish vote, always remained in a minority. What Parnell thought of it all is more immediately to our purpose. He was now, in the eyes of Gladstonian politicians, a veritable hero. Candidates prayed for his assistance at elections. Edinburgh granted him the freedom of the City. The Eighty Club prostrated itself at his feet. Had he cared for it, he would have become the lion of every Liberal social-political function in London. But he cared for none of these things. He calmly looked on unmoved, and when asked in 1887, by a friend in Cork, ‘What do you think of Mr. Gladstone now?’ replied, frigidly, ‘I think of Mr. Gladstone and the English people what I have always thought of them. They will do what we can make them do.’

According to his biographer, Parnell touched the pinnacle of success on the breakdown of the charge against him of having written the famous ‘forged letter.’ He and his

fellow-members had besought the Government to institute an inquiry into the charges made against them in the 'Times' newspaper before a House of Commons committee, and the Government thinking that the inquiry, if it were to be held at all, should take place before the strongest possible tribunal, had passed an Act of Parliament referring the whole subject to three judges. Their report entirely acquitted Parnell as to the letter, but on matters of far greater importance their findings amounted to a terrible condemnation of the conduct of members of the National party, and form a document of the utmost historical value to all who wish to know the facts as to an important period of Nationalist agitation.

Parnell's triumph—if such it can be called—was of very short duration, for the revelations of the Divorce Court in November 1890 proved the end of his power. With all his faults he was a man of splendid courage and tenacity. There was a certain quiet manliness about him that claims respect, and there is something almost tragic in the suddenness and completeness of his fall. Undoubtedly he was very badly treated both by his Irish followers and his English allies. Amongst members of Parliament, and probably in a much wider circle, the relations between Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea had been notorious for several years past, but this had never been considered by Nationalists as affording them any reason for withdrawing their allegiance, nor by Gladstonians any reason for rejecting his alliance. After the Divorce Court proceedings the Nationalist party in Dublin resolved to stand by Parnell, and he was, on the meeting of Parliament, again chosen their leader by the parliamentary party. Mr. Gladstone and his chief colleagues, however, concluded, probably correctly, that Parnell's continuance in his old position would tell heavily against them, and therefore against the Home Rule cause, at the next general election. Parnell, therefore, must go. True, he had been re-elected by the Irish, but if the latter were to have the assistance of an English alliance it must be on English terms. Logically, no doubt, there was not a little absurdity in English Home Rule Liberals, who were contending for the great principle of management by Irishmen of Irish affairs, denying the right of the Irish parliamentary party to choose its own leader. But Mr. Gladstone on some occasions was quite as practical a man as Parnell, and he now had in his eye the coming elections in England. Gladstone, therefore, threatened to retire himself (this

seems the more obvious rendering of his letter) unless Parnell did. Parnell was accordingly dismissed by a great majority of his old parliamentary following, who thereby unintentionally aimed as deadly a blow at the very basis of Parnellite policy as at the position of Parnell himself. To this majority it doubtless appeared that they had to make the painful choice between voting on personal grounds for their old leader and voting on patriotic grounds for the Home Rule cause. In truth, they absolutely destroyed that independence of the Nationalist party by which alone, according to Parnell, the cause could ever be won. Parnell made a splendid struggle to call back his countrymen to their old flag, but his strength, which had for some time been failing, broke down owing to his excessive exertions, and he died at the early age of forty-one, leaving no one behind him to fill his place.

In that last struggle the politic silence maintained by the Irish leader whilst Mr. Gladstone was doing the work of Home Rule for him was abandoned. Parnellism and Fenianism stood shoulder to shoulder whilst the majority of the Home Rule members, who had cast in their lot with Mr. Gladstone and the bulk of the Roman Catholic priesthood, were against him. Whether or not, if life had been spared him, Parnell would have succeeded in resuscitating an independent and united Nationalist party can never be known. The years which have followed his death have shown that amongst Irish Nationalists there was no one who was personally qualified to contest Parnell's supremacy, whilst Mr. Gladstone's departure from the political stage has shown conclusively that no English Home Rule statesman remained whose own ascendancy could threaten in any degree the independence of the Irish parliamentary party. If there was to remain in Ireland any strong feeling for Nationalism, it would seem inevitable that Parnell would again have been the Nationalist leader; but even so he would again have been doomed to disappointment and failure, for he could never have won Home Rule.

The influence of a strong personality has made Mr. Barry O'Brien strangely blind to the difficulties which prevented the accomplishment of Parnell's policy. He writes as if the Irish leader had really been within an ace of achieving success; and as if the maintenance of the parliamentary unity of the three kingdoms was due to the exposure of the unfortunate relations that existed between Parnell and the wife of Captain O'Shea! The only possible

chance for the acceptance by Parliament of Home Rule lay in its being 'rushed through Parliament' before it was understood by the British people. The attempt to substitute for our present constitution a new system, which had not first been submitted to the people, has twice been attempted, and has twice been foiled, to the unmistakeable satisfaction of the electorate. Moreover, time and experience have shown us—thanks in large measure to the firmness and ability of Mr. Arthur Balfour—that the contention of Parnell and Mr. Gladstone, and of many others who should have known better, that the choice lay between Home Rule and the government of Ireland by an almost Russian absolutism was mistaken almost to the point of absurdity. On the contrary, it is clear that the best prospect of peace and well-ordered freedom in Ireland lies in the maintenance of the parliamentary union.

The real obstacles in Parnell's way were the circumstances and conditions of the age in which he lived. National sovereignty in the present day in democratically governed countries belongs not to individual monarchs, but to parliaments. Parnell always carefully explained that he asked not for provincial, nor for state, but for *national* rights, and for that reason he found amongst the Fenians his most constant friends. Mr. Gladstone expressed his belief to Mr. O'Brien, in January 1897, that, but for the divorce, an 'Irish Parliament' would have been in actual existence. We do not for a moment believe it. But how have matters gone in the last two years? No English Liberal statesman of the front rank *now* ventures to express the slightest desire for an 'Irish Parliament;' and, as a party, they have quite lately affirmed in the House of Commons their disapproval of the Irish claim of 'legislative independence.' Is this abandonment of the Gladstone and Parnell policy also due to Mrs. O'Shea, or to deeper causes? Assuredly the Home Rule faith, in its inception and in its abandonment, has been a strange political portent; and it is now left to Unionists to cry that Home Rule is not yet quite dead!

Irish patriotism, as time goes on, will, we cannot doubt, develop on lines very different from that of the late Nationalist leader. After all, amongst the majority of Irishmen, love of their country does *not* mean hatred of England; and the day will come when all educated Irishmen will look upon John Bright as a far truer friend of Ireland than ever was Parnell. Parnell failed utterly and

completely in the object he had set before himself—the making Ireland a nation, and the instrument by which he was to achieve it broke in his hands. His party could not, as an independent party, impose its will on Parliament, and when it entered into a close alliance with the Gladstonians it lost the independence of even choosing its own leader. Where Parnell and Gladstone failed, it is not likely that lesser men will succeed. It is impossible to arrest the tendency of our times towards national consolidation. Considerations of party exigency, which loom so large in the eyes of party managers, and sometimes of party leaders, count for little in the result, when they are opposed to the actual conditions of the time. It is too late for ‘Particularism’ to raise its head here. Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen are doomed by the necessities of modern civilisation to a closer and closer identification of their own interests and sentiments, and our inevitable advance will be towards a complete and more harmonious union in a single nation of the whole people of the British Isles.

INDEX.

— + —

A.

American Revolution, review of Sir G. Trevelyan's and Mr. Lecky's books upon, 262—its influence upon Fox's career, 266—corruption and incompetence in English statesmen and generals, 267—colonial dissatisfaction with Stamp Act, 269—Declaratory Act affirming Parliamentary sovereignty over colonies, 269—fettering colonial trade, 270—taxation of colonies for defence, 270—duty on tea, 271, 276—conduct of Sir F. Bernard, British Governor of Massachusetts, 272—British boorishness and New England courtesy, 274—George III. and personal government, 274—policy of coercion of colonies, 275, 277—French assistance for colonists, 276, 281—congresses at Philadelphia for redress of grievances, 278—Lord North's attempts at conciliation, 278—Lord Chatham and British public opinion, 280—want of enthusiasm of colonists in cause of independence, 281—Fox's sympathy with Americans, 282.

Anson, Sir W. R., his 'Autobiography of Duke of Grafton' reviewed, 489.

Asia Minor, review of books upon, 515—as a Roman province, 516—Persian invasions, 517—defeat of Emperor Romanus by Alp Arslan, 517—conquest by Seljuk Turks, 518—sultanate of Rûm, 518—Osman and Orkham, founders of Ottoman Empire, 520—Osmanli conquest, 520—historic associations, 522—beauty and variety of scenery, 523—paucity of rivers, 523—Lord Warkworth's journey in, 524—British policy in, 526—Armenian massacres, 526—German policy in, 528—reform in Turkey, 531—British trade in, 532—capacity for development, 533—lack of transport, 534—roads, 535—railways, 536—projected line to Persia and India, 541.

B.

Budminton book on 'Big Game Shooting' reviewed, 213.

Ball, Dr., his book on Irish Church reviewed, 1.

Bowl, F. T., his story of Gloucester smallpox reviewed, 335.

Bordeaux, A., his book on South African mines reviewed, 316.

Browning, Robert and Elizabeth Barrett, review of their letters, 420—wonderful courtship, 426—interchange of letters between poet and poetess, 427—first interview and proposal, 427—'Pacchiarotto,' 428—'House' and 'Men and Women,' 429—'Sonnets from the Portuguese,' 430—Mrs. Browning's letters preserved by her husband and published by her son, 431—two lovable and gifted natures, 432—Browning on criticism, 433—Mrs. Browning's father opposes her marriage, 434—secret wedding, 435—secret departure, 436—description of storms in Malvern Hills, 436—Miss Barrett's childhood, 437—humour in their writings, 437.

- Burne-Jones, Sir E.*, review of catalogue of his pictures, 24—imaginative emotion, 25, 31—scholarship evinced in his paintings, 27—Mr. Ruskin's appreciation, 27—wide choice of subjects, 27—sadness dominant in his pictures, 32—his mission, 40.
Buxton, E. N., his 'Short Stalks' reviewed.

C.

- Canterbury, Archbishop of*, his Charge at first Visitation reviewed, 1.
Carol, J., his book about Madagascar reviewed, 458.
Catholic Emancipation, review of Mr. Gregory's letters concerning, 167—apathy of Irish peasantry, 169—attitude of Pitt and Fox towards, 171—Plunket's championship of, 172—Grattan and Ponsonby, 180—Saurin, 182—Patrick Duigenan, 183—Plunket's Bill passed in the Commons, 185; but rejected in Upper House, 186—O'Connell and Sheil, 186—George IV.'s visit to Ireland, 186—Plunket shelves the question and makes a foe of O'Connell, 188—passed by Peel, 190.
Chapman, A., his 'Wild Norway' reviewed, 213.
Colvin, S., his 'Florentine Picture-Chronicle' reviewed, 410.
Copeman, Dr. S. M., his lectures on vaccination reviewed, 335.
Criminal Evidence Act, review of, 194.
Crookes, Sir W., his book on diamonds reviewed, 316.

D.

- Darrah, H. Z.*, his book on sport in Kashmir reviewed, 213.
Davis, R. H., his book on Cuban and Puerto Rican campaigns reviewed, 239.
Demidoff, Prince, his 'Hunting Trips in the Caucasus' reviewed, 313.
Deronsshire, Duke of, speech on Secondary Education reviewed, 149.
Diamonds, Origin of, review of books concerning, 316—occurrence as rolled pebbles, 316—dry diggings, 317—Kimberley and other South African mines, 318, 331—distribution in 'pipes,' 319—spontaneous fracture of gems, 319—blue ground of Kimberley, 319—differences of colour, 320—composed of pure carbon, 320—combustion in oxygen, 321—self-luminous in the dark, 321—liquefaction of carbon, 322, 325—artificial diamonds, 323, 326—three forms of carbon, 324—fusion and crystallisation of carbon, 325—Sir William Crookes's theory of volcanic origin, 328—Mr. Cecil Rhodes and De Beers mines, 329—Brazilian and Indian gems, 330—New South Wales diamonds unworkable, 331—diamonds in meteorites, 331—Sunset Knoll in Arizona, 333.
Discretion and Publicity, review of Letters of Robert and Mrs. Browning, 420—morbid curiosity for details of private life, 421—biographies of artists, 422—frankness in biography, 424—publication of love letters, 425—Swift's journal to Stella, 426—letters of Robert and Mrs. Browning, 426—artist's duty of reticence, 429—Miss Martineau's letters recalled and burnt by her, 430—Browning preserves his wife's letters, 431—revelation of two loveable natures in the Browning correspondence, 432. - -
Dunmore, Lord, his book on the Pamirs reviewed, 213.

E.

Ellis, W. A., his translation of Wagner's works reviewed, 96.

Encyclopædia of Sport reviewed, 213.

Evidence, Law of, review of Act for reform of, 191—Lord Denman's article upon, 194—exclusion of evidence of interested parties, 195—Bentham's principles, 196—medieval trials, 197—trial by jury, 198—torture superseded by trial by witnesses, 198—Star Chamber, 200—exclusion of prisoners' evidence, 200—Act of 1843, 201—County Court practice, 202—husbands and wives, 203—evidence of accused admitted under Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, 204—Criminal Code Bill of 1878, 204—Sir Fitzjames Stephen's opinion, 205—practice in Canada and United States, 206—Criminal Evidence Act, 1898, 206—prisoners allowed to give evidence in their own behalf, 208—affidavits superseded by *vivâ voce* examination in open court, 209.

F.

Florentine Picture-Chronicle, review of Mr. Sidney Colvin's book, 440—drawings in British Museum attributed to Finiguerra, 441—World-Chronicles or universal histories, 445—sacred and classical history and myth, 446—the artist of the Picture-Chronicle a sculptor-goldsmith, 447—Finiguerra and Pollajuolo, 447—Baldovinetti, 448—imaginativeness of the Chronicle, 450—cassone pictures illustrating Florentine manners, 451—Chronicle compared with Finiguerra's drawings at the Uffizi, 453—engravings 'in the fine manner,' 453—examples of fifteenth-century goldsmiths' art, 455—invention of engraving on copper, 457.

For, G. E., and *W. H. Hope*, their 'Excavations on Site of Roman City of Silchester' reviewed, 369.

Gibbons, Capt., his book on Central Africa reviewed, 213.

Gore, Canon, his Essays on Church Reform reviewed, 1.

Grafton, Third Duke of, review of his autobiography, 189—early years, 492—introduction to George II., 492—M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, 493—his opinion of George III., 494—Secretary of State, 495—First Lord of the Treasury, 498—relations with Lord Chatham, 500, 506—opinion on taxation of the colonies, 503, 510—persecution of Wilkes, 504—suicide of Lord Chancellor Yorke, 507—resignation of Grafton, 508—Privy Seal in North ministry, 510—resigns, 511—treaty between France and American colonies, 512—Privy Seal under Rockingham, 512—siege of Gibraltar, 512—opinion on value of Gibraltar, 513.

Gregory, Lady, review of her book, 'Mr. Gregory's Letter-box,' 167.

Grohman, W. A. Baillie, his 'Sport in the Alps' reviewed, 213.

Groscheule, E., his book about Madagascar reviewed, 458.

H.

Harcourt, Sir W., his letters to the 'Times' on Ritualism reviewed, 1.

Henderson, Lt.-Col. G. F. R., his book on Stonewall Jackson reviewed, 48.

J.

Jackson, Stonewall, review of Lt.-Col. Henderson's biography of, 48—early years, 50—lieutenant of artillery, 51—exploits in Mexican War, 52—Professor of Artillery Tactics at Lexington, 52—tour in Europe, 53—expedition against 'John Brown,' 54—question of slavery in Western Territories, 55—constitutional struggles in Border States, 56—colonel of Virginia Volunteers in War of Secession, 57—commands 1st Brigade of Army of the Shenandoah, 58—at Battle of Bull's Run receives the name of 'Stonewall,' 60—fight at Kernstown, 63—defeats Banks at Winchester, 65—victory over McClellan's army on the Chickahominy, 66—battle of Cedar Run, 67—capture of Federal stores at Manassas Junction, 68—invasion of Maryland, 69—capture of Harper's Ferry, 70—slave emancipation, 70—fatally wounded by his own men in the moment of victory, 71—tactics, 72.

K.

Kirby, F. V., his 'Haunts of Wild Game' reviewed, 213.

L.

Lannay, L. de, his book on Cape diamonds reviewed, 316.

Lecky, W. E. H., his chapters on the American Revolution reviewed, 262.

Lewis, H. C., his book on the diamond reviewed, 316.

M.

Macdonald, his 'Birrens and its Antiquities' reviewed, 369.

McVail, J. C., his books about vaccination reviewed, 335.

Madagascar, review of books concerning, 458—changes since French conquest, 458—Tananarive captured and French protectorate declared, 459—prime minister deposed, 460—native police system abolished, 460—murder of English missionaries, 462—brigands, 462—M. Laroche appointed Resident-General, 463—schools and churches destroyed by rebels, 464—Norwegian Mission attacked, 465—proclaimed a French colony, 466—slavery abolished, 466—General Gallieni, Resident-General and Commander-in-Chief, 466—repression of native risings, 468—the queen deposed and banished to Algiers, 470—exclusion of British and American trade, 471—French tariff, 473—famine, 473—plague, 474—military operations in interior, 475—capture of robber chiefs, 476—subjugation of Baras and Tanalas, 477—immigration, 478—forced labour, 478—outbreak at Nossi Bé, 479—re-employment of Hova governors, 481—cost of new colony, 482—improvements in communications, 484—Protestant schools and missions, 485—natural resources of country, 485—injury to British trade, 486.

N.

Neumann, A. H., his book on elephant-hunting reviewed, 213.

O.

O'Brien, R. B., his life of Parnell reviewed, 543.

P.

Parker, C. S., his edition of Sir R. Peel's papers reviewed, 285.

Parnell, C. S., review of Mr. Barry O'Brien's life of, 543—ancestors, 544—his mother, 545—boyhood and education, 545—visit to America, 546—member of Irish Church Synod, 546—M.P. for Meath, 546—admiration for 'Manchester martyrs,' 547—hostility to England, 547—Fenian support, 549—Clan-na-Gael and physical-force men, 550—aims at 'National Independence' for Ireland, 551, 553, 566—Home Rule leader, 552—Land League, 554—opposes Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill for fixity of tenure, 554—forms Nationalist parliamentary party, 555—Parnell Commission on dynamite outrages, 555—Mr. Forster's Coercion Act, 556—controversy with Mr. Gladstone, 557—in Kilmainham gaol, 558—'Treaty of Kilmainham,' 558—Phoenix Park murders, 560—his policy of moderation, 560—presented with 37,000*l.*, 561—boycotting, 561—attitude towards dynamite policy, 562—general election of 1885, 563—unites with Conservatives to overthrow Gladstone Government, 564—discusses Home Rule with Lord Carnarvon, Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Salisbury, 566—Mr. Gladstone regains office by Irish votes, 566—Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886, 567—defeat of Home Rule party, 567—Parnell a hero of Gladstonians, 568—Parnell and O'Shea divorce case, 569—dismissed from Irish leadership, 570.

Peel, Sir Robert, his private papers reviewed, 285—early years, 286—at Harrow and Oxford, 287—Under-Secretary of Colonial Department, 287—Chief Secretary for Ireland, 287—reorganises Irish Constabulary, 288—opposes Catholic emancipation, 288, 292, 294—chairman of Currency Committee, 289—Home Secretary, 291—criminal law reform, 291—establishment of police force, 292—changes his opinion on Catholic emancipation, 296—Emancipation Act passed, 297—Reform Act, 297—fiscal legislation towards Free-trade, 299—income tax, 299, 310—Maynooth Bill, 301—Queen's Colleges in Ireland, 302—repeal of Corn Laws, 302—attacked by Mr. Disraeli, 306—defeated on Irish Coercion Bill, 308—estimate of his character, 309.

Pitt-Rivers, Lieut.-General, his 'Excavations in Cranborne Chase' reviewed, 369.

Private Bill Legislation, review of Reports concerning, 76—Private Bill Committees overworked, 76—Select Committees in lieu of Committees of the whole House, 77—exclusion of interested members, 78—difficulty in retaining counsel, 79—Parliament jealous of its control of details, 80—Commissioners for light railways, 81—provisional orders, 82—powers of Local Government Board, 83—local inquiries, 84—experts, 85—persons' bills, 86—bills of great magnitude, 86—Chairman of Ways and Means in the Commons and Chairman of Committees in the Lords, 87—

Lord Brougham's proposed Commission, 89—objection to fixed tribunal, 89—Sir John Mowbray's proposed Commission, 90—Mr. Balfour's scheme, 91—permanent Commissioners, 93—improved procedure, 93—Scottish opinion, 94.

Plunket, William Conyngham, review of Mr. Gregory's letters concerning, 167—school and college life, 173—Historical Society of Trinity College, Dublin, 173—at the Bar and in Irish Parliament, 174—letter on suppression of American rebellion, 176—Anti-Union speeches, 177—returns to the Bar, 177—Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, 178—elected to House of Commons, 178—speech on Catholic emancipation, 179—succeeds Gifford in leadership of Catholic cause, 185—his Catholic Emancipation Bill passed through the Commons, 185 Bill rejected in Upper House, 186—appointed Attorney-General by George IV., 187—opposed by O'Connell, 188—peer and Irish Chancellor, 188—estimate of his character, 192.

R.

Roman Britain, review of works concerning, 369—Camden's 'Britannia,' 370—Horsley's 'Britannia Romana,' 371—Silchester, 372, 383—'villas' in Sussex and Kent, 373—Roman wall at Chester, 373—forts in Scotland, 374—Hadrian's wall, 374—380—Roman garrisons at York, Chester, and Caerleon, 377—military roads, 380—towns and municipalities, 382—houses at Silchester, 384—early Christian church, 385—villa system, 386—mosaics, 387—villages of peasantry, 387—Late Celtic and Romano-British art, 388—mines, 389—Roman Britain compared with Gaul, 390.

S.

Secondary Education, review of Report of Royal Commission upon, 149—different classes of intermediate schools, 150—authorities controlling, 151—higher-grade Board Schools, 151—Technical Instruction Acts, 152—evening continuation schools, 152—proprietary schools, 153—merging of authorities, 153—local authorities and funds to support them, 154—interference with private schools, 155—Public Schools, 156—examinations and teachers, 156—constitution and powers of Central Board of Education, 157—Minister of Education, 158—conscience clauses, 162—expense, 162—German commercial training, 164—Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 165.

Slavery in Modern Scotland, review of papers concerning, 119—serfdom of Scotch colliers, 119—engagement by earnest-money, 120—'arling' or sale of future labour of children, 121, 129—Scotch serfdom different from feudal serfdom, 121—colliers free till Act of 1606, 122—restrictions upon metal-miners and factory hands, 123—bondage extended to all hired servants except artisans, 124—compulsory servitude of vagrants, 125—vagrants' children, 126—branding of beggars, 127—enslavement of orphans and pauper children, 128—slave labour displacing freemen, 130—slave trade in tramps, 131—compulsory military service

abroad, 131—labour supply for factories, 132—English work-house system introduced into Scotland, 135—Act of William and Mary, 137—transportation to plantations, 138—English Crown serfs emancipated by Elizabeth, 140—influence of Scotch Reformation, 140—Emancipation Act of 1775, 142—wages of colliers, 145—gratitude of freed colliers, 147—debt slavery, 147—final abolition in 1799, 148.

Sporting Adventure, review of recent books on, 213—golden age of sport in Africa fifty years ago, 213—improved weapons, 215—North-eastern Africa, 216—new fields in Asia, 217—'Big Game Shooting' and 'Encyclopædia of Sport,' 218—'Wild Norway,' 219—Bavarian Highlands and Tyrolean Alps, 221—stalking in the Carpathians, 223—'Hunting Trips in the Caucasus,' 224—urochs, 226—ibex-hunting on Mount Sinai, 226—Somaliland, 227—Central Africa, 227—Zambesi, 229—Transvaal and Mashonaland, 231—search-lights for lion-shooting, 232—*Ovis Poli* on the Pamirs, 233—Kashmir, 235—*Ovis Ammon* in Baltistan, 237—photographing a charging yak, 238.

T.

Trevelyan, Sir G., his book on the American Revolution reviewed, 262.

U.

United States as a Military Power, review of Mr. R. H. Davis's book upon, 239—reorganisation of army after Civil War, 239—State Militia, 240—Staff officers and auxiliary services, 240—absence of an immediately available army on declaration of war against Spain, 240—volunteer army enlisted, 241—'State Militia' made Federal troops, 242—increase in regular army, 243, 256—untrained men and inefficient staff, 243—scarcity of transport vessels, 245—Chickamauga Camp, 245—importance of sea power, 246—Cervera's fleet blocked in Santiago harbour, 246—landing of American army in Cuba, 250—capture of El Caney, 251—'Rough Riders,' 252—destruction of Cervera's fleet, 252—surrender of Santiago, 253—superiority of regulars over volunteers, 253—General Miles's successful strategy at Puerto Rico, 254—Dewey's victory at Manila, 255—hardships of volunteers, 256—soldiering made popular, 257—reorganisation of State Militia, 257—military development and territorial expansion, 258—need of trained civil service, 259—influence of war upon American feeling for England, 260.

Unrest in the Church of England, review of books &c. concerning, 1—Mr. Kensit and 'Ritualistic' practices, 2—Burke on 'hardship' of conformity of clergy to Church standards, 3—Book of Common Prayer as standard of doctrine and ritual, 3—Archbishop Benson on Church of Ireland, 4—practices alleged to be Romish, 5—Archbishop Benson on Church's teaching, 6—Sir William Harcourt on Romanising conspiracy, 7—Lord Halifax and English Church Union, 7—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour on obedience to the Prayer Book, 8, 21—Duke of Argyll

on discipline, 9—the Primate on episcopal authority over the clergy, 10—modern love of ceremonies, 12—Canon Gore's 'Essays on Church Government,' 13—authority of Parliament, 17—Irish Church Constitution, 19—national character of the Church of England, 21.

V.

Vaccination, review of books concerning, 335—smallpox ravages before vaccination, 336—royal victims to smallpox, 338—London bills of mortality two centuries ago, 338—pock-marked servants preferred, 340—inoculation long known in China and the East, and introduced into England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 341—inoculation in Scotland, 343—Edward Jenner's investigation of cowpox as protective against smallpox, 344—Jenner's successful inoculations with vaccine lymph, 345—critics and admirers, 346—Napoleon's esteem for Jenner, 346—hundreds of children vaccinated, 346—vaccine lymph conveyed to Spanish America and Philippines, 347—triumphs of vaccination, 347—duration of immunity, 348—revaccination, 350—statistics of smallpox mortality, 352—anti-vaccinationists, 355—glycerinated lymph, 357—sanitation and isolation, 358—epidemic at Sydney, 361; at Leicester, 362; at Gloucester, 363; at Halifax, 365—Report of Royal Commissioners, 366.

W.

Wagner, R., Mr. Ashton Ellis's translation of his works reviewed, 96—his egoism, 97—*libretti* of his operas considered as literature, 99—essay 'About Conducting,' 100, 114—attack on Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn, 101—'Communication to my Friends,' 102—'Taunhauser,' 103—moral of 'Lohengrin,' 104—'Art Work of the Future,' 105—scope of his ambition, 107—Jesus and Apollo, 108—essay on Beethoven, 109—his reminiscences of other composers, 112—Nietsche's opinion of him, 113.

Ward, Dr. A. W., his biography of Sir Henry Wotton reviewed, 391.

Warkworth, Lord, his book on Asiatic Turkey reviewed, 515.

Warren, Councillor, his 'Law of Church of Ireland' reviewed, 1.

Wotton, Sir Henry, review of books concerning, 391—value of his writings, 393—'Aphorisms of Education,' 391—'Reliquia,' 397—cuphuism, 398—epistolary style, 399—poems, 400—ambassador at Venice, 401—dispute between Venice and the Pope, 402—life at Venice, 404—defence of rights of Englishmen, 405—Thirty Years' War, 406—return to England, 409—pecuniary embarrassments, 409—provost of Eton, 410—expensive epigram, 411—neglected at Court, 411—life at Eton, 414, 413—desires to enter Holy Orders, 415—Walton's contemplative man, 416—*requiem* for Milton, 417.

END OF VOL. CLXXXIX.



Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square, London.

THE ST. GILES'S CHRISTIAN MISSION

WHICH IS SUPPORTED ENTIRELY BY

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS,

Is constantly engaged in the following Directions:—

The Relief of the Distressed Poor.

The poor are visited in their own homes by our Visitors. Indiscriminate Relief, therefore, is not administered.

The Assistance of the Better Class of Discharged Prisoners.

Only those desiring to do rightly are aided from our Funds.

The Saving of Juvenile Offenders from a Life of Crime.

They are taken by us into one of our Five Boys' Homes, sheltered from evil influences, found employment, clothed and fed, and saved from 'prison taint.'

The Assistance of Wives and Children of Prisoners.

They are left, not infrequently, quite homeless and friendless. Their case is and indeed—How can we refuse to aid them?

The Training of Fallen and Destitute Women for Domestic Service.

Homeless and Destitute Women are received at all hours of the day or night. Each case is dealt with as it severally needs.

The Providing a Holiday and Home for Poor Children.

Each year over 300 sickly little ones have a Fortnight's Stay in our Children's Holiday Home. About 1,400 have a Day's Excursion.

The Providing a Permanent Home and Orphanage for the Children of Prisoners, and other Destitute Children.

Where the helpless little ones are sheltered and cared for, receiving a sound Christian Training.

The Providing a Seaside Convalescent Home for the Deserving Sick Poor.

The greater the need, the more readily is help administered.

Voluntary Contributions are our only source of Income. Financial

Help is much needed now. **WILL YOU GIVE IT?**

TREASURER—

F. A. BEVAN, Esq.,
54 Lombard Street, E.C.

SUPERINTENDENT—

WILLIAM WHEATLEY,
4 Ampton St., Regent Square, London, W.C.

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Edited by S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD,

and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., PH.D.

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE AND LECTURER IN DIPLOMACY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

NUMBER 54, APRIL 1899. Royal 8vo. Price 5s.

1. Articles.

THE ORIGINS OF THE JAPANESE STATE. By F. VICTOR DICKINS.

THE GUIDI AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH FLORENCE. By Miss ECKENSTEIN. Part I.

ANDREW MELVILLE AND THE RÉVOLT AGAINST ARISTOTLE IN SCOTLAND. By ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION. By J. R. TANNER. Part II.

2. Notes and Documents.—The Hidation of some Southern Counties: by F. BAKING. An Eastern Embassy to Europe in the Years 1887-8, by NORMAN MOLAN. A Letter of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, 1748. The Succession of Colonel Graham on the Italian Campaigns of 1796-1797. by J. HOGLAND ROSE. Part II. Hereditary Insanity in History

3. Reviews of Books.

4. Notices of Periodicals.

5. List of Recent Historical Publications.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., London, New York, and Bombay.

